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A SURVEY

OF THE

STRENGTH AND OPULENCE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN;

WHEREIN IS SHEWN,

THE PROGRESS OF ITS

COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE, POPULATION,

&c.

BEFORE AND SINCE THE ACCESSION

OF THE

HOUSE OF HANOVER:

By THE REV. DR. CLARKE,

SECRETARY FOR THE LIBRARY, &c. TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE OF WALES.

WITH

OBSERVATIONS

BY

DEAN TUCKER, AND DAVID HUME, ESQ.

IN A

CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD KAIMES;

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

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PREFACE.

I HAVE the ſatisfaction of preſenting to my fellow ſubjects an unerring ſtandard, whereby the meaneſt capacity may perceive, while the ableſt cannot controvert, the State of this Nation. The following pages will lay open, in a plain and unequivocal manner, the paſt and preſent condition of Great Britain; its comparative debts and opulence at different periods; its relative expences and reſources at preſent; and every man will be enabled to ſatisfy his own mind fully on the aſtoniſhing increaſe of its commerce, its wealth, ſtrength, and proſperity, from the beginning to the cloſe of the eighteenth century.

My intentions in this work are two-fold: firſt, to ſet before the men of to day, the poſitive and relative condition of this coun-

try,

try, with reſpect to paſt and preſent times; next, to unfold to thoſe, who ſhall come after us, that ſyſtem of political œconomy, whereby an improving poſterity may ſurpaſs us, who excel our anceſtors before and contemporaries around us. In theſe days it is neceſſary and peculiarly our duty, to procure to our country all the advantages in our power; not to limit ourſelves to thoſe uſeful actions which the laws preſcribe to us; but to do all the good which our love for her can inſpire, and to let her intereſt be our ſupreme law.

Such is the principle and object of this work. If it prove uſeful to my country, I ſhall be happy. But in a perſonal point of view, I am regardleſs of its ſucceſs or miſcarriage. The roar of calumny or ſhouts of applauſe are empty ſounds to me. In this ſcene of ſublunary change, I look only to what, I truſt, will be of long duration—the honour

honour and ſucceſs of my country. To theſe alone therefore I devote my diligence; free from the chains of power, and deſpiſing to do obeiſance to the Baals of popularity. Had the ſpirit of independent truth guided and animated the writings of modern days, for the ſword yields to the pre-eminence of the pen even in the province of deſtruction, we ſhould not now be ſurrounded by the ruins of thrones and altars, hear the fall of ſtates, nor have ſeen a bleeding world amidſt the pangs of an expiring age. Who that has witneſſed theſe things, muſt not be impelled by an inſtinctive principle to examine well the public condition, wherein is contained his own individual condition? Who will not inform himſelf, therefore, not incautiouſly nor erroneouſly, but according to authentic evidence and facts, on the State of his country? Thus alone we ſhall be enabled to ſhew to the miſguided Anti-Unioniſts of Ireland, with what an opulent and powerful nation they ſtill mur-

mur

mur to unite; to the Jacobins, againſt what a mighty ſtream their corrupt bark has to ſtruggle; and to the enemies of this United Kingdom, that her reſources and her ſtrength bid her defy the world. Theſe things at leaſt ſhall, I truſt, be ſo clearly ſet forth in the following pages, that none but the wilfully blind can avoid ſeeing them.

ERRATA.

P. 89. line 15. *inſtead of* fifty, *read* fifty-five.
101. — 23. *inſtead of* the following, *read* theſe.

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With ſeveral important OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

This Tract having been written while Mr. Pitt was in office, it is neceſſary to remark, that throughout the following pages, the appellation of the Miniſter *is applicable to him.*

March 18, 1801.

A SURVEY

A SURVEY OF THE STRENGTH AND OPULENCE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAP. I.

History, Progress, and Effects of Commerce.

POLITICAL Œconomy is a science which teaches us, either by sound maxims or wise models, to promote the opulence of people and sovereigns. Its object is to provide more than adequate subsistence for the subjects, and sufficient revenues for the state.

Its operations for this purpose vary according to time and place, and display themselves in systems of agriculture and com-

merce. That of agriculture is the firſt in the order of nature and time; but that of commerce, which is more modern, ſeems to be the more important in this place. I ſhall therefore begin with commerce, tracing it briefly from the period of its origin in this country to the preſent moment.

In the days of our Gothic anceſtors, ſociety was compoſed, in this nation, of barons, their dependants or vaſſals, and villains. The latter order of human beings was eſtimated as ſo many heads of cattle or live ſtock on the land. For by the 5th article of Magna Charta, the waſte of *men* or *things* on an eſtate was prohibited. Such was the comparative conſideration in which the people was claſſed.

This diſtinction in the ranks of ſociety was determined by the different natures of their tenures under their chiefs; whether it was baſe or noble, ſervile or military, by the ſoc or by the ſword. If the land was held by ſoccage, the occupiers were ſlaves, and bound to work for their maſters. The lower claſs conſiſted of two bodies, one of which was the villains in groſs, ſlaves trans-

ferable with the land, or who formed a chief *article* of *export* to foreign countries, and to Ireland *. The other claſs conſiſted of artificers, who were to ſerve the barons with all things of uſe or oſtentation, belonging to cloathing or habitation. The bondage of this order was gradually broken in the manner which ſhall be preſently related; and ſuch was the dread of its revival, that every member of the body, when he took up his freedom, was forced to promiſe upon oath that he would not take as an apprentice one who was *bound in blood*. This form exiſted lately, and I believe continues to this day, in the oath of a freeman of Briſtol.

The upper claſs, which occupied land under the barons by military ſervice, was denominated *frank-men*, whoſe duty was

* This exceeds the feudal condition of Poland, and the ſyſtem of Ruſſia to-day; where the people are attached to and transferable with the eſtates, but are not a commodity of export to be diſpoſed of like negro ſlaves. Let Britons compare their ſituation with that of the reſt of Europe to-day, and with that of their forefathers in paſt times.

defenſive and *offenſive* in the cauſe of their chief. Theſe were gentlemen whoſe profeſſion was fighting; and to have followed any other trade would have been a blot in their eſcutcheon. With theſe men of blood, whom the grandees retained in their ſervice, they leagued againſt their ſovereign, and over-awed the ſceptre by the ſword. To theſe however, and to this principle, we owe Magna Charta.

War and robbery indeed were the only honourable profeſſions in ancient times; when nothing was adjudged diſhonourable but the arts of induſtry and peace. Such is the account alſo by Herodotus of the barbarians of Thrace. The Romans too were warriors and robbers; and this manner of living, with very ſmall alterations, ſerve to characterize all barbarians either of ancient or modern times.

If we recur to the 7th article of Magna Charta, we ſhall there find the ſpirit that reſiſted induſtry and peace in the record of gentility; which ſays, "Heirs ſhall be mar-"ried without diſparagement." So that an alliance with fortune and without birth,

was,

was, in thoſe days, a breach of *Magna Charta*; but an alliance with high blood and beggary, was honourable and becoming. Yet theſe gentlemen of high blood wore liveries, made the beds, and ſwept the rooms of their maſters the great barons! With ſuch bands of ſervile deſperadoes near his perſon, the caſtle of every baron, moated and trenched about, was little better than a den of thieves and robbers, to attack ſome adjoining baron and plunder his neighbours. The great earl of Warwick entertained daily at his manors 30,000 of theſe retainers. Thomas à Becket ſtrewed his floor with ruſhes, that the numerous ſquires might ſit down, without injuring their clothes, to eat their dinner; and William Rufus probably did not find Weſtminſter-hall a ſufficient dining-room for ſuch company.

A great revolution, however, aroſe in ſociety, partly out of this folly and extravagance of the barons, and next out of the moſt infuriate zeal that ever maddened mankind.

Peter the monk pointed out to thoſe heroes by profeſſion, the way to gain heaven on ſoldier-like terms. Thus inſpired with an epi-

demical phrenzy, all the hoſts of idle warriors throughout Europe went to conquer Heaven in the Holy Land. Theſe frantic cruſades ſoon taught them that a ſupply of neceſſaries was wanting; for they were attended by ſwarms of females of quality. Such pilgrims never thought, in the firſt paroxyſms of this faſhionable zeal, of hunger and illneſs; or they ſuppoſed that food and medicine would come down from Heaven. They ſoon learned, however, that it was better to poſſeſs magazines than expect miracles. In order, therefore, to purchaſe ſupplies, little ſocieties of tradeſmen were emancipated for ſmall ſums of money: and hence towns and cities obtained their charters, which were augmented during 200 years of phrenzy.

The artificers and tradeſmen of England, having gradually purchaſed freedom and increaſed their opulence, were enabled to give larger ſums to their lords: and hence the origin of long leaſes. Moving onward in rank and wealth, the merchant felt a new ſtimulus which rouſed his induſtry and exertions; thus commerce was extended, and the arts and luxury appeared. The high lords

now

now began to feel more enjoyment in convenience, and the growing ſoftneſs of perſonal indulgence, than in the rapine, revelry, and diſorders of their dependants: for the manufacturer and tradeſman ſoon taught the baron that he could gratify his own appetites of vanity or voluptuouſneſs, with what he had diſſipated before on the noiſy feaſts of thouſands. Thus the retainers who had paraded with launce and javelin, the pride and terror of tumultuous fairs, gave way to the baron's ſelf-love, which manifeſted itſelf in the ſplendour of domeſtic life, or the dazzle of dreſs; and now arms retired before frivolity. The baron being initiated in pomp and pleaſure, and the merchant in the profits of commerce, luxury advanced, refinement followed, and induſtry kept pace. But while they went on together, the trader became the rival of the noble in opulence, and rouſed others to become his own rival in commerce. Hence rivalry in luxury, and rivalry in trade, multiplied and improved the arts; and the great, always more voluptuous, and always more expenſive, exceeded their

revenues, ſold their domains to the merchant and to the mechanic, and ruined their fortune. Thus commerce levelled the proud baron, freed kings from ſlavery, and people from oppreſſion.

Such is the revolution wrought for the happineſs of mankind by vanity and avarice. Thoſe evils have produced much good; but commerce has been the great inſtrument which has not only made private vices bring forth public virtues, but has converted public proſperity into private good.

That man muſt be wholly ignorant of the progreſs of the human mind and condition, who knows not the relations between public commerce, public power, public opulence, public knowledge, and individual happineſs.

Happineſs indeed muſt ever keep pace with knowledge and induſtry; and both flouriſh with commerce. Where its hiſtory began, there aroſe the monument of this truth. But without recurring to the hiſtorical detail of Egypt, Phœnicia, the Grecian colonies, and the Eaſt under the Caliphs, we have only to open our eyes, and the proofs ruſh in upon the mind. We behold the

the ſplendor and opulence of Britiſh commerce, not only diffuſing happineſs over an whole empire, but attracting the genius and remunerating the induſtry of the civilized world to day.

Thus has the national conſequence of Britain grown up with its private induſtry, probity, and œconomy; and the bleſſings of our *individual* condition, have kept pace with its public power and its *commerce*. I hope to prove this by *authentic documents* before I have done; for we ſhould be aſſured of our improved individual condition; and certain claſſes of reſpectable men ought to be undeceived, with reſpect to the public condition.

The *ſtate* of the *nation*, however, is not only told, but foretold by oracular pamphlets, at every little interval of time. Written with ſome abilities, many of them gain authority amongſt the public, and impreſs it with an opinion that the nation is decaying, its manufactures declining, the country depopulated, agriculture neglected, its wealth diminiſhed, and its commerce undone: every tittle of which is void of truth, and

ſhall

ſhall be diſproved, by incontrovertible documents. All theſe tracts, however, have not been the deſpicable productions of party, nor the offspring of venality and falſehood. Some of them have been the works of honeſt, but uninformed men; who wrote and publiſhed what they conceived to be the truth. There is likewiſe another claſs of men to be undeceived, who are remarkable for a propenſity to praiſe the paſt times and condemn the preſent. The practice may not be altogether ungrateful to the aſpiring inſufficiency of human nature; but it owes its chief ſucceſs to prejudice, and ſometimes to fallacy. The ſtate of a nation may be eaſily perceived by comparing it with itſelf at diſtant periods, and with different nations that are its contemporaries. Thus we may judiciouſly and impartially ſet in oppoſition the paſt and preſent times; and no man, I believe, who has either conſulted public documents, or has even reflected upon the common hiſtorical narrative of the progreſs of this country, will diſbelieve that the annual produce of land and labour was much greater at the reſtoration than a century before, on the

the acceſſion of Elizabeth: that it was much greater at the acceſſion of Elizabeth than a century before, on the cloſe of the diſſentions between the houſes of York and Lancaſter: that the condition of the nation was ſuperior then to what it was at the Norman Conqueſt; at the Norman Conqueſt to what it was during the confuſion of the Saxon Heptarchy: and at this early period, Britain was certainly a much more improved nation than on the invaſion of Julius Cæſar. But if every document, which exiſts from the time of Julius Cæſar down to the acceſſion of the houſe of Hanover, were brought forward, and from the time of the acceſſion to this day, they would tend to eſtabliſh moſt incontrovertibly that the progreſſion of this nation in commerce, opulence, and power, within this century, far exceeds that of all the preceding periods taken collectively together.

If we take a review of the laſt century, or rather of the period from the revolution, we ſhall perceive, however, that we have had not only the prodigal cravings of factious parties to encounter, but the waſte of numerous

merous wars. We have had four expenſive French wars: we have had four Spaniſh wars: we have had two rebellions, in 1715 and 1745: we have had the revolution war of America, which engaged us in hoſtilities with the combined powers of Europe: we have had three armaments; and we have now the war with France. We have alſo had a fierce, and we have ſtill a ſmothered rebellion in the ſiſter country. But notwithſtanding the ſpace of about a century has produced no leſs than ten expenſive wars and three rebellions, beſides different armaments to exhauſt the ſtrength and opulence of Great Britain, ſhe appears at this moment upon a proud pinnacle of pre-eminence amongſt nations.

Heaven has proſpered the induſtry of her people; for it is their hands and diligence that have formed for their ſovereign, in thoſe perilous days, the broad ſhield of the univerſe. Such is the navy of Great Britain, which has grown with its commerce.

I have before ſketched the origin of commerce in the feudal days of our anceſtors. What its gradual and regular progreſs was,

is

is unknown to us until 1697; becauſe previous to that period there was no official account kept of exports and imports. It appears, however, that the trade of the country, in 1683, produced an exciſe of about five hundred and forty thouſand pounds: and in 1696, of about five hundred and twelve thouſand pounds; whereas a century after, in 1797, it produced above eleven millions nine hundred and ſixteen thouſand pounds. The increaſe is about twenty-two-fold in the century. But, from the year 1697 to the year 1800, I ſubmit to public inſpection the official documents of exports and imports, whereby every man may ſee clearly and beyond diſpute how wonderful has been the progreſs of this nation. (See table A.)

TABLE

TABLE (A.)

The ANNUAL VALUE of the IMPORTS and EXPORTS of ENGLAND, during the last Century.

Years.	Imports.			Exports.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1697	3,482,586	10	5	3,525,906	18	6
1698	4,732,360	4	1	6,522,104	16	1
1699	5,707,669	11	9½	6,788,166	17	6½
1700	5,970,175	1	10¾	7,302,716	8	7
1701	5,869,606	9	10	7,621,053	6	5¾
1702	4,159,304	16	—	5,235,874	—	5¾
1703	4,526,596	11	1½	6,644,103	6	—½
1704	5,383,200	16	5½	6,552,019	18	2
1705	4,031,649	14	10¾	5,501,677	11	2¾
1706	4,113,933	3	3¾	6,512,086	17	1
1707	4,274,055	10	4½	6,767,178	8	6½
1708	4,698,663	11	8½	6,969,089	19	1½
1709	4,510,593	11	8¾	6,627,045	17	6
1710	4,011,341	7	4½	6,690,828	15	2¾
1711	4,685,785	17	7½	6,447,170	16	3¾
1712	4,454,682	11	6¾	7,468,857	5	1
1713	5,811,077	16	6	7,352,655	12	2¾
1714	5,929,227	—	8¾	8,361,638	3	3
1715	5,640,943	16	5	7,379,409	—	8
1716	5,800,258	7	8	7,614,085	6	11
1717	6,346,768	1	6	9,147,700	2	4
1718	6,669,390	1	1	8,255,302	14	5
1719	5,367,499	8	3	7,709,528	1	7
1720	6,090,083	15	1	7,936,728	16	6
1721	5,768,510	16	7	8,681,200	17	4
1722	6,378,098	19	1	9,650,789	17	10
1723	6,505,676	6	8	9,489,811	16	7
1724	7,394,405	2	5	9,143,356	12	7
1725	7,094,708	8	6	11,321,480	11	4
1726	6,677,865	13	4	9,406,731	10	10
1727	6,798,908	4	2	9,553,043	18	3
1728	7,569,299	1	9	11,631,383	1	11
1729	7,540,620	10	5	11,475,771	16	8
1730	7,780,019	9	2	11,974,135	14	11
1731	6,991,500	3	11	11,167,380	10	6

(*continued.*)

The Annual Value of the IMPORTS and EXPORTS—*continued.*

Years.	Imports.			Exports.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1732	7,[illegible]87,914	5	—	11,7[illegible]6,653	13	—
1733	8,016,814	2	2	11,771,306	6	7
1734	7,095,161	8	4	11,[illegible]0,645	2	2
1735	8,160,184	—	11	13,544,144	7	—
1736	7,307,966	12	10	11,[illegible]16,256	10	2
1737	7,073,638	3	6	11,842,320	17	—
1738	7,438,960	4	7	12,289,495	7	1
1739	7,329,373	8	11	9,495,366	14	3
1740	6,703,778	10	6	8,869,939	15	5
1741	7,936,084	18	7	11,469,872	8	2
1742	6,[illegible]66,864	13	—	11,5[illegible]4,417	2	4[illegible]
1743	7,[illegible]22,353	6	6	14,623,653	9	6
1744	6,362,971	6	6	11,429,628	10	3
1745	7,847,123	3	3	10,497,329	17	—
1746	6,205,687	15	8	11,3[illegible]0,792	16	2
1747	7,116,757	5	6	11,442,049	1	6
1748	8,136,408	19	6	12,351,432	12	11
1749	7,917,804	10	4	14,099,366	11	—
1750	7,772,039	12	5	15,132,004	3	1
1751	7,943,436	4	5	13,967,811	8	7
1752	7,889,369	9	3	13,221,116	5	11
1753	8,625,029	4	3	14,264,614	3	11
1754	8,093,472	15	—	13,396,853	9	7
1755	9,238,276	14	5½	12,717,832	13	10½
1756	8,442,027	19	—½	13,143,689	5	5½
1757	9,873,153	13	4½	14,266,861	11	10½
1758	9,074,190	6	10	15,866,251	16	6
1759	9,528,864	—	10½	15,637,696	9	7½
1760	10,683,595	10	4½	16,665,278	5	1½
1761	10,292,541	9	4	17,531,675	1	9
1762	9,579,160	3	7	15,132,258	9	3
1763	12,568,927	3	5	17,251,617	16	—
1764	11,250,660	3	4	17,756,331	6	1
1765	11,812,144	1	7	15,721,374	13	2
1766	12,456,764	17	10	15,188,66[illegible]	10	6
1767	13,097,153	6	4	15,090,001	4	3
1768	13,115,309	6	11	16,620,132	6	2
1769	13,134,090	13	1	14,401,289	8	5
1770	13,430,298	3	1	15,9[illegible]4,571	12	6
1771	14,218,324	18	7	19,018,480	17	5

(continued)

The Annual Value of the IMPORTS and EXPORTS—*continued.*

Years.	Imports.			Exports.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1772	14,508,715	16	9	17,720,168	13	11
1773	12,522,643	7	—	16,375,430	18	2
1774	14,519,914	4	1	17,288,486	4	—
1775	14,815,855	17	2	16,326,363	14	4
1776	12,143,429	17	11	14,755,698	17	5
1777	12,647,833	17	8	13,491,006	2	10
1778	10,975,533	1	—	12,253,890	7	1
1779	11,435,264	13	5	13,530,702	12	4
1780	11,664,967	7	11	13,554,093	6	11
1781	12,722,862	1	10	11,332,295	19	10*
1782	10,341,628	15	6	13,009,458	12	11
1783	13,122,235	7	6	14,681,494	14	6
1784	15,272,672	18	—	15,101,276	—	11
1785	16,279,418	1	6	16,770,228	17	9
1786	15,786,072	7	5	16,300,725	15	9
1787	17,804,024	16	1	18,296,166	13	9
1788	18,027,170	1	3	18,124,082	15	3
1789	17,821,202	10	7	20,014,298	17	2
1790	19,130,596	15	3	20,120,120	17	2
1791	19,600,000	—	—	22,700,000	—	—
1792	19,600,000	—	—	22,700,000	—	—
1793	19,256,000	—	—	20,390,000	—	—
1794	22,288,000	—	—	26,734,000	—	—
1795	22,736,000	—	—	27,312,000	—	—
1796	23,187,000	—	—	30,518,000	—	—
1797	21,013,000	—	—	28,917,000	—	—
1798	27,275,760	—	—	33,591,777	—	—†
1799	26,837,432	—	—	35,991,392	—	—‡

* The single instance of a balance against Great Britain during the century.

† The real value - - - - - - - - - Imports - - 46,963,230
Exports - - 47,000,286
Total - - - £ 94,963,516

‡ The real value, as given in and paid for by the merchants for convoy, amounts, to - - - - - In 1799 - - - Imports - - 45,397,317
Exports - 50,146,080
Total - - - £ 95,543,397

There are two remarkable epochs in the annals of commerce, during this century. The firſt is on the acceſſion of the houſe of Hanover; and the other ſince the year 1783.

By comparing the exports and imports of four years of peace *before* the acceſſion, that is, from 1698 to 1702; and of four years of peace *after* the acceſſion, that is, from 1714 to 1718; we find an increaſe of nearly ſix millions.

The next great epoch is from 1783. By looking back to our exports and imports, we find that they increaſed, from 1697 to 1783, about twenty millions: whereas, from 1783 to 1798, they increaſed about twenty-two millions; that is, they increaſed two millions more in the laſt fifteen years than they had done in the whole preceding part of the century. But the increaſe at this moment is much greater.

It is peculiarly neceſſary to remark here, that theſe official eſtimates were formed in the beginning of the century by Dr. Davenant, on the real value of commodities; but the real value now exceeds theſe official eſtimates by about 70 per cent. However, without any comparative calculation, we have

an unerring rule to know the value of our commerce at the beginning and the close of the century. According to the real value estimated by Dr. Davenant, in 1697 it amounted to little more than *seven millions:* and according to the real value as given in and *paid for*, on account of convoy by the merchants in 1799, it amounted to above ninety-five millions and an half *. Such is the increase of British commerce in the course of the century.

He who will embrace in his considerations here the internal trade of this country, and will contemplate all its effects on national power and individual happiness, and proceeding afterwards to compare its state with that of the other nations of Europe at this moment, and next with that of itself in past times, must feel no small emotions of gratitude and pride that he is a *Briton of this day*.

It may not be unsatisfactory to the reader, to know that the exports of *British produce*

	£.
* In the year 1697 - - - -	7,008,492.
1799 - - - -	95,543,397.

and

and *manufactures* alone have increaſed, ſince 1792, from eighteen millions three hundred thouſand pounds, to twenty-three millions ſix hundred thouſand: and ſince 1783 they have more than doubled themſelves; they have increaſed from about ten to above twenty-three millions and an half. (See table B.)

TABLE (B.)

ACCOUNT of VALUE agreeable to antient Eſtimates of the BRITISH PRODUCE and MANUFACTURES exported from GREAT BRITAIN.

	£.
1783 - -	10,314,000
1790 - -	14,921,884
1791 - -	16,810,020
1792 - -	18,336,851
1793 - -	13,892,268
1794 - -	16,725,402
1795 - -	16,338,212
1796 - -	19,102,220
1797 - -	16,903,103
1798 - -	19,672,503
1799 - -	23,693,851

The growing magnitude of commerce, ſo far back as 1758, together with ſome remarks made by Dean Tucker, ſtruck Mr. Hume the hiſtorian, and cauſed a correſpondence with Lord Kaims. I am enabled, through the favour and liberality of a great ſtateſman *, to lay it before the public. And it is an object of curioſity, not a little pleaſing to try the jarring opinions of thoſe two juſtly-celebrated men half a century ſince, by the teſts of events to day. Thus we may be taught how to appreciate the ſpeculative ingenuity of one man, and the practical ſolidity of another. This able divine and politician was the enemy of ſpeculation. He combated it in every form wherever he met it, whether in moral or political œconomy. For his great mind embraced one great object, the temporal and eternal welfare of mankind, and he knew the whole ſource of this to be in ſound, religious, and civil government. To theſe, therefore, he devoted the celebrated labours of a long and uſeful life; penetrating into, combining and

* The Marquis of Lanſdown.

enforcing

enforcing the wiſeſt principles of religious and political œconomy, for the good of his fellow creatures. He lived beloved, he died revered.

It may be neceſſary to remark, that when Hume wrote the following obſervations on the ſelf-deſtructive greatneſs of commerce, the only documents of its growth ſhewed an increaſe (from 1697 to 1758) of exports and imports from ſeven millions to above twenty-four millions. But luckily forty years have now elapſed ſince theſe obſervations were made by Hume, and commerce has gone on ſtill augmenting, till it amounted in the laſt year to about ninety-five millions and an half: and inſtead of being deſtroyed by its own bulk, it exiſts and goes on augmenting amidſt ſigns of ſtill increaſing ſtrength and ſplendour. The reader will be ſo good as to bear in mind this prodigious augmentation ſince the time of Hume, while he peruſes the following letter to Lord Kaims.

Copy of a Letter from DAVID HUME, Esq. to Lord KAIMS.

" MY LORD,

" I am very much obliged to you for allowing me a reading of Mr. Tucker's papers; in all that gentleman's productions, which have come to my hand, I can perceive a profound knowledge of the theory of commerce, joined to an enlarged acquaintance with its practice; and I own I have received both pleasure and instruction from the perusal of them. The papers which your lordship has been pleased to communicate to me, do not belie this character. All the advantages which the author insists upon as belonging to a nation of extensive commerce, are undoubtedly real: great capital, extensive correspondence, skilful expedients of facilitating labour, dexterity, industry, &c. these circumstances give them an indisputed superiority over poor nations, who are ignorant and unexperienced. The question is, whether these advantages can go on, increasing trade *in infinitum*, or whether they do not at last come to a *ne plus ultra*, and check themselves, by begetting

begetting diſadvantages, which at firſt retard, and at laſt finally ſtop their progreſs. Among theſe diſadvantages, we may reckon the dear price of proviſions and labour, which enables the poorer country to rival them, firſt in the coarſer manufactures, and then in thoſe which are more elaborate. Were it otherwiſe, commerce, if not diſſipated by violent conqueſts, would go on perpetually increaſing, and one ſpot of the globe would engroſs the art and induſtry of the whole. I am pleaſed when I find the author inſiſt on the advantages of England, and prognoſticate thence the continuance and even further progreſs of the opulence of that country; but I ſtill indulge myſelf in the hopes that we in Scotland poſſeſs alſo ſome advantages, which may enable us to ſhare with them in wealth and induſtry. It is certain that the ſimpler kind of induſtry ought firſt to be attempted in a country like ours. The fineſt arts will flouriſh beſt in the capital: thoſe of next value in the more opulent provinces: the coarſer in the remote countries. The carriage of proviſions to the capital is a tax upon them; and a great many of them are

of ſuch a nature as cannot at all be tranſported. It is then great encouragement to ſettle in the countries where they are produced; and though a rich country, by its other advantages, may long maintain its ground againſt a poorer, which makes attempts towards commerce, it will not be able entirely to annihilate or oppreſs it.

"The author, conformable to the character both of a divine and a philoſopher, draws an argument from the goodneſs of Providence; but I think it may be turned againſt him. It was never ſurely the intention of Providence, that any one nation ſhould be a monopolizer of wealth: and the growth of all bodies, artificial as well as natural, is ſtopped by internal cauſes, derived from their enormous ſize and greatneſs. Great empires, great cities, great commerce, all of them receive a check, not from accidental events, but neceſſary principles.

"There is a hint thrown out in the papers which gave me great ſatisfaction, becauſe it concurs with a principle which I have thrown out to your lordſhip, and which you ſeemed not to diſapprove of. I was indeed

ſo pleaſed with it, that, as I told you, I intended to make it the ſubject of a political diſcourſe, as ſoon as I ſhould have occaſion to give a new edition of that work. My principle is levelled againſt the narrow malignity and envy of nations, which can never bear to ſee their neighbours thriving, but continually repine at any new efforts towards induſtry made by any other nation. We deſire, and ſeem by our abſurd politics to endeavour to repreſs trade in all our neighbours, and would be glad that all Europe were reduced to the ſame ſtate of deſolation as Turkey: the conſequence of which muſt be, that we would have little more than domeſtic trade, and would have nobody either to ſell or buy from us. I remember, that in a converſation on this head with your lordſhip, I aſked whether a man who opened a ſhop in Tartary was likely to meet with many cuſtomers. This narrow ſpirit of nations, as well as individuals, ought carefully to be repreſſed; and I am glad to find that Mr. Tucker is likely to employ his talents and abilities in ſo uſeful a manner.

"I am, &c. &c.

Edinburgh, 4th March, 1758.

(Signed.) "DAVID HUME."

DEAN TUCKER'S REPLY.

" Mr. Hume has evidently miſtaken my meaning in this letter: I never ſaid that a rich country would monopolize all trade; but that, though both the rich and the poor countries might ſtill advance, the poor country (equal induſtry ſuppoſed) would not be able to overtake the rich country, much leſs to diſtance it; and a poor country, in proportion as it increaſes in trade and manufactures, loſes its original advantage of cheapneſs of labour, and cheapneſs of proviſions; for then theſe things become proportionably dearer than before. My opinion is, that the richer, that is, the more induſtrious all countries are, the more beneficial they will become to each other. This is not talking like a monopoliſt: and theſe mutual benefits may go on *indefinitely*, for any reaſon that I can ſee to the contrary; that is to ſay, no man can pretend to foretel *when* the improvements of a rich country muſt *neceſſarily* ſtop, becauſe the nature of things will not permit them to proceed beyond ſuch a given point. No man

can

can foretel when this muſt happen; and therefore no man can put a ſtop to, or limit the progreſs of improvements, even in imagination, ſuppoſing equal induſtry to be always continued. This is enough for me to aſſert, without having any thing to do with *infinites* and *infinity*; which are ſubjects ſo much beyond my capacity, that I do not chuſe to ſay any thing about them."

The only remark neceſſary to be made here, is, that when this queſtion on the growing magnitude of commerce occurred, it had about trippled itſelf during ſixty-one years, from about the beginning of the century; whereas, now at the cloſe of the century, it has increaſed thirteen fold.

This aſtoniſhing wealth of the nation, is owing to the wiſe regulations firſt made under George the Firſt by that able miniſter Sir Robert Walpole. His views of commerce were juſt; his plans manly and rational; his endeavours to ſupport amity and trade, when an infatuated people would declare war againſt their beſt cuſtomers, were truly patriotical: whatever was wrong in his adminiſtration,

miniſtration, was more owing to the crimes of his enemies than to any malignity of his own, for they forced him to extremities. All this his adverſaries have not denied. But let us look to the Statute Book, and as long as the 8th of George I. cap. 15, ſhall exiſt, there will be found a monument of celebrity for this great man, beyond what the huzzas of mobs could have given, or gold boxes have beſtowed.

The wealth of the nation dates its next and unparalleled meaſure of increaſe ſince the year 1783. I did juſtice, in the former inſtance, to the memory of a *dead* miniſter; and as I am equally unbought and unpenſioned by the *living* one, ſo ſhall I be uncorrupt by a rigid adherence to public truth. I offer neither compliment nor comment; I refer ſolely to recorded facts. (See page 18, note; and table A of commerce ſince 1783.)

Having glanced at one of the great *cauſes* of this amazing wealth, in the *parliamentary* regulations of Sir Robert Walpole, it may not be unimportant in this place, and particularly in thoſe times, to conſider the conſequences of commerce upon the rights of parliaments

parliaments and the people; it will afford satisfactory evidence, whether the past times were better than the present, or not.

The growth of commerce and manufactures first banished slavery from this island, and raised the poor to the possession of human rights. It appears, that before the prosperity of manufactures, the laws spoke thus: "Every able-bodied person, under sixty years of age, not having sufficient to live on, being required, shall be bound to serve him that doth require him, or else shall be committed to goal till he finds security to serve." (Carr's Collection, Vol. I. p. 261.) Also, by the 34th of Edward III. if any labourer or servant fled to any town, the chief officer shall deliver him up; and if *they depart to another country*, they shall be burnt in the forehead with the letter F." It is commerce which has at once snatched the lowest individuals and entire classes of men from oppression. For if we trace back the constitution of parliament, we shall find that its origin was property, not only in the upper orders, but in the lower ranks who derived that property from commerce.

The

The greater barons, in feudal times, attended parliament through a right and neceſſity, to repreſent that property which they held in vaſſalage of the crown. The leſſer barons were bound by a like right and neceſſity to do the ſame; but they got themſelves excuſed from perſonal attendance, on ſending repreſentatives or knights of the ſhire. And at the elections of thoſe knights of the ſhire, the nobles and military voted; but no borderers, no cottagers*, no villains in groſs, no villains regardant manors; that is, in ſhort, *not the people*. Theſe claſſes of human beings, far from being conſidered as citizens, were eſtimated, as I mentioned before, like ſo many heads of cattle or live ſtock upon the land. The article of Magna Charta, which forbids a waſte of men or things on an eſtate, ſhews in what claſs of comparative conſideration they ſtood.

Thus it appears, that the people neither voted at elections nor ſat in Parliament: and that the barons and knights of the ſhire repreſented property only. Likewiſe we ſhall

* "Bordarii, Cottarii," &c.

find

find on enquiry, that when the burgeſſes were firſt ſummoned to Parliament, the RIGHT and NECESSITY of attendance grew out of property, and that this was the ſole baſis of their repreſentation.

For when the folly and extravagance of the barons, and the phrenzy of the cruſades rendered ſupplies of money neceſſary for defraying their enormous expenſes, charters were granted to cities and towns for certain ſums. Theſe *trading places*, being thus freed from oppreſſion, ſoon grew up into opulence, and were thought worthy of ſending repreſentatives to Parliament. And thus property gave birth to the right of borough repreſentation. The firſt ſummons on record for this purpoſe was in the 23d of Edward I.*—(1295).

Theſe places, however, having deſiſted to make returns they were compelled by the 5th of Richard II. Stat. 2. c. 34.—(1382). Here we have a proof alſo that repreſentation was not only a right, but a *neceſſity* an-

* Dr. Willis's Appendix, No. 2, extracted from Notitia Parliamentaria.

nexed

nexed to *property*. But ſome of the boroughs pleading inability of means, got themſelves excuſed; which exemptions remain valid to this day. Conſequently we ſee, that as property diminiſhed, the right and neceſſity of repreſentation were ſuſpended.

Hence it is evident, that the barons, knights of the ſhire, and burgeſſes, or, in ſhort, the whole parliament, was a repreſentation of property. But the contempt of every thing which had affinity to the people was exceſſive until the augmentation of their property aroſe from commerce. For before the admiſſion of the burgeſſes to parliament, the barons and knights of the ſhire ſat in one room, but the deputies from the trading places never.

Parliament, however, is of a different texture to-day, to that when policy or humanity induced Henry VII. to render the lower claſſes of people leſs dependant upon the rich and powerful. This protection of the inferior ranks of ſubjects produced, as a natural conſequence, a greater freedom and independency in the lower houſe of parliament: for Sir Thomas More oppoſed a ſubſidy with

ſucceſs

ſucceſs in the laſt year of this king's reign; which is, perhaps, the firſt inſtance of oppoſition to a meaſure of the crown by a member of the Houſe of Commons.—*Honourable Daines Barrington's Annotations on Ancient Statutes, p.* 417 *and* 419.

Still, however, the non-importance of the Commons, even in their own eyes, continued in the enſuing reign. One Richard Strode, member for Plimton in Devonſhire, having promoted a bill to prevent a monopoly in the tin trade, was condemned by a Parliament of the Stannaries to be impriſoned under ground, and fed with bread and water only. In which ſituation he continued till he was releaſed by a Writ of Privilege out of the Exchequer, as being one of the king's collectors, but not as being a member of Parliament; for that afforded no protection in thoſe days.—*Statutes at large,* 4 *Henry VIII. c.* 8.

So low down even as the time of Elizabeth, the Houſe of Commons had no great claim to importance. Sir Robert Cecil, the Secretary of State, ſeverely reprimanded the Speaker for ſuffering the heads of a bill even to be read in the houſe, which ſeemed to limit the regal power.—"You, Mr. Speaker, ought to have known your duty better." And

in another of his ſpeeches he ſaid, "Hear what Bracton ſays:—*Prerogativam meam nemo audeat diſputare*—Nobody dares diſpute my prerogative." Alſo another curious fact deſerves attention: one Archer, having carried the election of Reading, in oppoſition to a candidate recommended by the Queen's Deputy Vice Chamberlain, was impriſoned for this atrocious deed: nor could he gain his liberty till the whole Houſe of Commons had petitioned for his releaſe.—*See Townſhend's Collections*, *D'Ewe's Abridgments*, and *Tucker on Government*.

Surely theſe hiſtorical facts will convince the reader that the liberty of the ſubject has increaſed with his property.

Before I diſmiſs this point relative to commerce, whence property grew and whereon liberty flouriſhed, it may be neceſſary to ſay ſomething on the balance of trade. I ſhall, however, be conciſe on this ſubject at preſent, with a view to more enlarged obſervations, which I hope at a future moment to be able to lay before the public, on the different branches of political œconomy.

The balance of trade preſents a point, than which none is more intricate or more liable to miſapprehenſion; it defies ſpeculation, and

diſcovers itſelf only to practice. The mode of determining it hitherto, as followed by Sir Charles Whitworth and others, according to the exceſs of export over import, or *vice verſâ*, is wholly fallacious in the trade of Great Britain. The fiſheries, for inſtance, give an imported produce, and conſtitute apparently on the Cuſtom Houſe books an unfavourable balance; whereas it is a poſitive acceſſion to the national capital. Likewiſe with reſpect to raw materials; the balance ſeems to preponderate againſt us; whereas it is a favourable weight in the oppoſite ſcale, adding to our national opulence, rouſing and remunerating national induſtry; whereby the duſky ore from the mine is more valuable in the eye of political œconomy than the ſplendid lump of gold, or diamonds of the firſt water.

There are, however, fixed and ſure principles whereby the balance of commerce may be aſcertained. The proceſs requires extenſive commercial views and minute information. Both theſe requiſites centered in Mr. Irving, the late Inſpector General of Cuſtoms: and to that great commercial luminary

minary we are indebted for the firſt true light upon this complicated ſubject. I have been guided by the principles of this able and much-reſpected man: and without entering into the wide detail at preſent, which was neceſſary in the purſuit of my inquiry, I ſhall briefly ſtate the reſult.

The commerce of 1798, according to the real value, and without deductions allowed at the Cuſtom Houſe, amounted to above one hundred millions. But calculating on one hundred millions, the balance was *fourteen millions two hundred and ſix thouſand four hundred and fourteen pounds* in our favour; whereas when Joſiah Gee wrote, who was a commercial writer of character and note, the balance of trade had not, according to him, been worth a ſingle ſhilling for almoſt a hundred years. It may be neceſſary to remark here, that in general, when we inquire into the balance of trade, the imports ſhould be divided into two claſſes, namely, raw materials for the employment of our own people; and taxable objects for the purpoſe of raiſing revenue. This balance, however, of above fourteen millions in our favour

favour during 1798, is excluſive of the profits of our fiſheries, excluſive of the profits of our revenues, and excluſive of the profits of inſurance; all which augment the balance moſt conſiderably. During the laſt year the balance has received a vaſt increaſe in our favour.

Let us be aſſured on this great queſtion of commerce, which is entwined with and inſeparable from our intereſts as individuals, that no country will ever loſe its trade ſo long as it retains its induſtry; and that no project can ever ſecure or increaſe trade, which does not ſecure or increaſe diligence and frugality amongſt a people: no war begun for trade, however ended by victory or defeat, can prevent one nation from being more induſtrious than another: no ſuperior induſtry, but will neceſſarily produce ſuperior ſkill, capital, cheapneſs, cuſtom and riches; but riches without induſtry will make nations poor. Mines may give treaſures, and ſoldiers may lay waſte, and privateers may be ſucceſsful, but all theſe will make poor. That nation will be made poor which receives the plunder; both by the

apparent wealth which it imports, and by the real poverty which it inflicts on its neighbouring ſtate. For it is the intereſt of a trading nation, that the circumſtances of a poor cuſtomer beſide it ſhould be improved, ſo that it may become a rich one, and both may benefit by the rotations of commercial induſtry. Gold and ſilver are riches in appearance, but may be poverty in reality; and if gotten by idleneſs, they are the ſource of ruin; but if by induſtry, they are the parent of bleſſings. The merchant eſtimates proſperity by a balance of pounds, ſhillings, and pence in favour of a nation; but a judicious ſtateſman looks to the account of men, women, and children, employed, and not employed. This is the great ſtandard whereby we may diſcover a profitable or unprofitable trade, namely, the *balance of induſtry*; and ſo long as that exiſts we need not fear Mr. Hume's ſpeculative theory of ſelf-deſtructive greatneſs. On the contrary, the greater the commerce, and the greater the balance of induſtry which it brings, the more ſtable and more ſtrong is the commerce.

It

It is in thoſe principles that we behold to day the broad foundation of Britain's ſtrength. Great and unrivalled in her commerce, ſhe is triumphant by her arms. I am not pronouncing a panegyric of proud words, but one built upon prouder facts, which I ſubmit to the attention of my fellow ſubjects.

There are other important topics connected with the ſubject of commerce, but of which the conſideration would extend this work beyond its intended limits. Some of them have been objects of much popular clamour, which have rolled conſiderable odium on bodies and individuals of ſociety: others have been ſubjects of ſpeculation; and ſome are relative to errors in practice. I ſhall decline entering into any of them, even into that popular queſtion of the colonial ſyſtem. The great principles of national policy, by which either the extending of colonies, or the abolition of their internal ſyſtems, ſhould be decided, require more latitude than my narrow limits here will allow. Not, however, that a meaſure, whether it be popular or unpopular, is affected in weight or credit with me. I have learned from a great and

honeſt man, that after attentive obſervation, and the experience of numerous years, he hardly ever knew an unpopular meaſure to be in itſelf a bad one, or a popular one to be truly ſalutary. So ſaid Dean Tucker. The people oppoſed the warehouſing of goods, the making of turnpike roads, the uſe of broad-wheel waggons, the incloſing and improving of lands, the freedom of trade in corporate places, the abridgment of labour by machines in manufactures, the admiſſion of induſtrious foreigners, nay, the act for preſerving public coins and their own property from debaſement and adulteration. The uninformed multitude have been long the victims of impoſtors, who miſguide them by their prejudices, and delude them into huzzas. Theſe they blaſphemouſly term the *vox Dei*, while they are ſacrificing them as dupes to their knavery and low ambition.

Another ſubject intimately connected with commerce, and which has given birth to much ſpeculation, is the navigation act. Like all human inſtitutions it has imperfections. But ſhould the texture of a fine ſilk ſtocking be deſtroyed in order to remove ſome coarſe

coarſe threads? Beſide, to what do we owe our commerce? to our navy. To what do we owe our navy? to our navigation act. How great then are the reſults of a meaſure, which was an act of pique, not of policy, under Cromwell; and an object of individual monopoly, not of national greatneſs, under Charles the Second.

CHAP. II.

Hiſtory and Progreſs of Revenues.

THE revenues aroſe from certain duties in former days of about five per cent. *ad valorem* laid on all imports and exports, ſolely by virtue of the *royal prerogative*. This was the univerſal practice of every prince, and hence thoſe duties or *cuſtomary* payments were called cuſtoms, the place where they were paid was called the *cuſtom houſe*, and the officers, who collected them, *cuſtom houſe* officers. The ſubjects however gradually gained more liberty, ſo that the duties which were ſolely impoſed before by *royal prerogative*, were afterwards laid on by acts of the whole legiſlature.

Notwithſtanding this change of authority, there was little alteration in the ſyſtem of taxation. For in thoſe days of commercial blindneſs, *exports* as well as imports paid a duty of about five per cent. *ad valorem*, and continued

ſo

ſo to do as low down as the reigns of Charles II. and James II. Elizabeth, by orders of council, and her own abſolute authority, raiſed them ſometimes to twenty-five per cent. Yet ſhe was *good Queen Beſs*, and her days were *golden days*; which formed an epoch of monopoly that the ſtruggles of twenty years and upwards could not defeat. See *D'Ewes's Journal of Parliament.*

King William was the firſt prince who ſhewed juſt ideas of commercial regulations; Queen Anne followed his example; but it was reſerved to the acceſſion of the houſe of Hanover, and to the adminiſtration of that great and able miniſter Sir Robert Walpole (whom the traders and populace always abuſed) to enrich this country by a general and judicious ſyſtem of taxation: for by one ſingle act, about one hundred and ninety-ſix taxes were repealed, partly on *raw materials* coming in, and chiefly on *Britiſh manufactures* going out.

The conſequences of removing theſe obſtructions to trade, and of placing the artificial burdens where they ſhould beget a neceſſity of induſtry and frugality, which en-

courage trade, may be viewed in the relative abilities of the nation compared with itſelf in the preſent and paſt times.

The average revenues of William amounted to above four millions;
of Queen Anne, to above five millions; (here the increaſe from the preceding reign is about one million);
of George I. ſeven millions and a quarter (increaſe of above two millions);
of George II. eleven millions and three quarters (increaſe from the reign of Anne of ſix millions and three quarters);
of George III. fifty-ſix millions, ſeven hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand, ſeven hundred and one pounds *: (increaſe of above fifty-one millions ſince the time of Anne): ſo much has the faculty of the nation augmented through our commerce, opulence, and proſperity.

I am aware, however, of a reply which may appear formidable, namely, that we are unable to ſupport theſe fifty-ſix millions. In

* Including the loan of £. 17,915,677.

anſwering

anſwering this remark, I decline the combat of aſſertions with the champions of party. I am in purſuit of truth and write but for my country: my ſole object is the conſideration and proof of national ability. And in order to try the ſolidity of this aſſertion, that the nation is unable to ſupport this ſum, let us ſee what claſs of men is oppreſſed by the *burdens* of *debt* and *taxes*? Is it the upper order? Luxury and diſſipation were never higher. Is it the merchant? Commerce was never ſo extenſive. Is it the farmer? Never was there ſo great a demand, or an higher price for his productions. Is it the manufacturer? Exports were never ſo numerous, and induſtry never ſo highly paid. Where then do our burdens preſs? Not on the poor, for they pay no taxes.

To clear up this point, and put it beyond all doubt, let us turn to the taxes themſelves which are laid on the people of England. They may be ſummed up under the following heads:

1. The land-tax, including likewiſe houſes.

2. The cuſtom-houſe duties on the importation of foreign produce, foreign manufactures, and foreign luxuries.

3. The

3. The exciſe on articles of home conſumption, under which head ſalt may likewiſe be included.

4. The new duties on coaches, carriages, horſes, ſervants, hats, dogs, armorial-bearings, income tax, &c.

5. The ſtamp duties, which of late have been ſo extended, as to comprehend a vaſt variety of articles.

6. The tax for defraying the poſtage of letters.

7. The poor-tax in its different branches.

Now, let any one ſeriouſly conſider, which of theſe, and whether any of them, do really fall on the labouring poor of England to any conſiderable degree, unleſs it be their own fault? And whether the great majority of the Engliſh nation has any juſt cauſe to complain on that account?

1ſt. As to the land-tax, and that on houſes and windows, not only the menial ſervants of both ſexes, but alſo the journeymen and journey-women throughout the kingdom, the low mechanics, the fiſhermen and ſailors, the day-labourers and cottagers, are almoſt univerſally excuſed. I do not en-

ter into the reaſons, which induce the aſſeſſors both in town and country to omit them, and thereby to excuſe this numerous claſs from paying taxes, but I do aſſert this to be the fact; for hardly any of them are ever rated, and therefore they do not pay. In ſome inſtances the laws themſelves excuſe them, and in others a connivance almoſt univerſally prevails.

2. As to the duties on the importation of foreign goods, manufactures, or luxuries, I hope I may inſiſt upon it without offence, that the lower claſs of people in England may enjoy very comfortably, good food, decent raiment, and warm dwellings (the three great neceſſaries of life) without paying a ſingle tax for the importation of any thing from abroad. Therefore, if any of them chooſe to indulge themſelves in ſuch elegancies, or luxuries, as are brought from foreign countries, they ought to pay for their prodigality, and have none to blame but themſelves.

3. The exciſe is the next article to be conſidered. And here it muſt be confeſſed, that in a few inſtances, and in a very ſmall degree,

degree, even the frugal in the lower claſſes may be taxed. The exciſe on malt, hops and cyder, alſo on ſoap, candles and leather, with the duty on ſalt, muſt affect the moſt parſimonious among them in ſome ſmall proportion. But were they to be content with a moderate quantity of cyder, or one-way beer,—and were they to buy the other articles at the beſt hand, it is not poſſible that theſe taxes (though the worſt of any) could eſſentially hurt or impoveriſh them. As to the heavy tax on ſpirituous liquors, this is ſo far from being a real grievance, that were it ſo high, as to amount to an abſolute prohibition (if that were poſſible) it would be the greateſt bleſſing which could befal the common people.

As to the new duties laid on coaches, carriages, horſes, male ſervants, fine hats, armorial bearings, income tax, &c. theſe ſurely do not affect the labouring poor: for they are exempted by their very condition from paying any of theſe taxes.

5. The like obſervations may extend to the ſtamp duties in all their branches. Indeed, if the ignorant populace will buy newſpapers,

newſpapers, and commence politicians, they are not to be pitied; for they ought to pay for their folly.

6. The tax on the poſtage of letters cannot materially affect the poor, and even if it did, the poſt-tax is ſo much cheaper than any other mode of conveyance, that it cannot be made a matter of complaint.

Laſtly, as to the tax for the maintenance of the poor, burdenſome as it is here in England, this falls altogether on the middling and higher ranks in ſociety, and not on the loweſt, or the meaneſt.

Upon the whole, it evidently appears, even from this brief ſurvey, that the majority of the Engliſh nation, (that is, male and female ſervants, low mechanics, journeymen, fiſhermen, and ſailors, day-labourers, and all kinds of cottagers, with their numerous families) are not heavily or oppreſſively taxed.

Such are the proofs of the proſperity of this nation. The ſtrength and opulence of which have enabled it to ſupport, without applying to the people, fifty-ſix millions *per ann.*; whereas before the acceſſion of the

houſe of Hanover, and the wiſe commercial regulations that followed, the faculty of the nation was apparent in five millions *per ann.*

No ſtronger proof can be adduced, that well-regulated taxation invigorates a nation. Taxes ſhould be ſo directed as to wage war againſt idleneſs and vice; and their great object be to convert drones into bees, and prevent bees from degenerating into drones. They may be made to turn the paſſions and ſelf-love of man, into the channel of public good. The beſt taxes are thoſe on articles of *conſumption*; amidſt which, thoſe on luxuries are the leaſt felt by the people, and are voluntary even for the great, who may chooſe between luxury and ſobriety. Things hurtful ſhould be rendered dear, and placed beyond the reach of the multitude; and things neceſſary and uſeful be encouraged. Thoſe on *poſſeſſions* are levied with leaſt expence; but arbitrary taxes are deſtructive. Their very collection and management, are worſe than the burden which they impoſe. When the *publicans* under Conſtantine ground and oppreſſed the people, they rejoiced to take refuge under

the conquering arms of the barbarians, and Rome fell. When the tyranny of the tax-gatherers in France ſqueezed the people, convulſions and civil diſſolution took place. In both theſe ſtates, the financial ſyſtem accelerated their ruin.

The principles of taxation, however, were never ſo well underſtood as at this moment; it takes from thoſe who have, to give to others, and thereby diſtribute amongſt thoſe who have not. Thus the circulation invigorates while it flows. The exchequer is no longer a cave of avarice, where the people carry with tears and poverty, the earnings of the ſweat of their brow. In former times, the avarice of Henry VII. amaſſed two millions ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. This ſaving humour of ſtates and princes is however of old date. We are told by hiſtorians, that Philip and Perſeus collected from the ſmall kingdom of Macedon, a larger treaſure than even that of our frugal Harry. But the Ptolemies, far ſurpaſſed the rapacious ſaving of the former; for Appian aſſures us, that

their treaſure amounted to above one hundred and ninety-one millions.

The revenues of Great Britain may be properly conſidered, at this moment, as a branch of circulation; which ſupports and ſtrengthens the whole political body. That branch, however, muſt be proportioned in ſize, to the amount of the whole annual income and the amount of population. Becauſe thus we ſhall aſcertain that competency, which muſt be left behind to carry on labour, and encourage induſtry forward. Land, trade, and manufactures, are the three feet upon which the exchequer and the nation ſtand.

If the land be too highly taxed, it brings poverty on the gentry, hinders the poor from being employed, hurts home conſumption, and interrupts foreign commerce.

If trade be too much burdened with impoſitions, the great portion of ſtock which muſt be given to pay cuſtoms, will clog trade, diſhearten the merchant, and enable our rivals to underſell us.

If exciſes be laid too heavily, it will fall upon

upon land, and prejudice the manufactures, by which the body of the people ſubſiſts.

It can never be too often repeated, that any tax, which promotes induſtry and encourages a circulation of labour, enriches a country; and any tax, which checks induſtry and ſtops labour, neceſſarily impoveriſhes the country in the ſame proportion. This is the true touchſtone for diſcovering the merit or demerit of any tax.

But, in fact, our modern ſyſtem of finance has deprived taxation of its miſchief, and preſerves its good. It is no longer the inſtrument of oppreſſion, but of protection; and the wonderful increaſe of this protecting power, and the daily augmentation of our faculty to ſupport this increaſe, preſents us with a juſt and unerring ſtandard, whereby we may eſtimate the paſt and the preſent ſtate of this nation.

The application of thoſe revenues, is to defray the annual charges of adminiſtering the government; and the annual intereſt on loans due to the creditors of government.

The different heads of expenditure in the civil, military, and naval branches, as well

as their annual amount, are laid yearly before parliament, and need no repetition here. I ſhall therefore only inveſtigate the progreſs of our debt, and the means of its liquidation.

PROGRESS AND AMOUNT OF THE DEBT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

	£.
War began in 1688: war ended 1697, by the treaty of Ryſwick, and debts were -	21,515,742
War began 1702, and debts were ſomewhat augmented. War ended 1704, by the treaty of Utrecht, and debts were	53,681,076
War began 1718, and ended 1719, by forcing Spain into the quadruple alliance; which, together with the public tranſactions of the South Sea Fund, increaſed the debt, in 1722, to - -	55,282,978

The

The reduction of the debt from 1723 to 1739, during ſeventeen years of peace, was £.8,328,354, by which means, when	
War began with Spain 1739, debts were - - - - -	£. 46,954,624
War ended 1748, by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and debts	78,293,313
War began 1755, with France, about American limits; debts	72,289,673
War ended 1763, by the treaty of Paris, and debts were -	122,603,336
Unfunded debts, and value of annuities brought into account, in this and the following year, made the debts amount, in 1764, to - -	146,816,182
War began 1775, with America, and debts were - -	129,146,322
War ended 1783, by the peace of Verſailles, but the funded debts did not reach their amount till 1786, when the debts were - - - - -	239,604,798

I now come to the period of the commencement of the preſent war, and ſhall ſtate the total amount of the national debt, as it ſtood the 5th of January in the following years; and next the total annual charges on the ſame debt, for intereſt, annuities, management, and ſums appropriated toward the redemption of the debt. This ſtatement is extracted out of documents, *ordered to be printed 2d April*, 1800, ſigned by Mr. Fiſher and by Mr. Irving.

Years ending 5th January.	Total Amount of National Debt.	Total Annual Charge.
	£.	£.
1793 -	238,231,257	10,332,435
1794 -	244,481,257	10,584,442
1795 -	260,157,782	11,356,576
1796 -	285,767,679	12,582,135
1797 -	327,071,378	14,429,798
1798 -	397,084,046	17,796,476
1799 -	431,084,046	19,054,301
1800 -	463,833,290	20,186,507

It

It appears by a clear ſtatement of Mr. Irving's, that after allowing ſums, applicable to the reduction of the above groſs ſum (£.463,833,290) of the national debt, the *total amount* of the permanent debt of Great Britain might be fairly taken, on the 5th of January, 1800, at about three hundred and ſixty-one millions (£.361,569,604); and the annual charges on it at about ſeventeen millions (£.17,249,326).

The permanent annual charges would, however, have been but about fourteen millions (£.14,330,609), had the commiſſioners for reducing the national debt, transferred the capital ſtock purchaſed by them, on the 5th of January, 1800, and ceaſed to apply any further ſums to that purpoſe.

Since therefore the annual charges thus appear, according to Mr. Irving, to be about FOURTEEN MILLIONS; it may be ſatisfactory to know what is alſo the *real* amount of the whole national debt?

It has been ſtated the 5th of January, 1800, by Mr. Irving, to amount to about three hundred and ſixty-one millions and an half. Now this is the *nominal* value; and if the

nation

nation were to discharge it by stock purchased for that purpose, at 75 per cent. which is much higher than its present price, it would amount to about TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-ONE MILLIONS (£.271,120,000). Such then is the REAL DEBT of Great Britain; but I shall add, it is *not the permanent debt*; nor are the annual charges of fourteen millions (£.14,330,609), as stated above, permanent charges. 1st. Because the whole debt is in a course of payment, and therefore is but a *decreasing* annuity, which will cease altogether at a time that depends upon the price of the public stocks. The sinking fund applicable to the reduction, amounted, on the 5th of January, 1800, to above four millions and an half (£.4,510,281), which will be augmented by the growing dividends every quarter on the sums progressively redeemed. 2d. The *annual charges* on the nation are not permanent; because, in the year 1811, taxes will cease to the amount of £.200,000 *per ann.* and so on progressively each year.

Let us now investigate the state of our taxes.

NET

NET PRODUCE OF PERMANENT TAXES.

	£.
Taxes in January, 1784 -	10,194,250
New taxes, 1786, to defray the expences of the American war - - - - - - - -	938,000
	£.11,132,250
The *same taxes in* 1799, produced - - - - - - -	14,574,300
Here is an *improved increase* of £.3,442,050.	
Net produce of taxes imposed since 1793, amounted, in 1799, to - - - - - -	7,272,043
	£.21,846,343
But it appears that the gross receipts of permanent revenues, after deductions, drawbacks, bounties, &c. amounted, in 1799, to - - - -	26,773,000
According to the committee	

of

of the Houſe of Commons, in 1791, it appeared that the peace eſtabliſhment amounted to nearly ſixteen millions (£.15,969,178).

And in 1799 it appeared that the *future peace eſtabliſhment* might be taken at above twenty-four millions - - £. 24,723,04

Conſequently we ſee above, in the permanent revenues, an ample reſource for the peace eſtabliſhment, as taken by the Houſe of Commons, in 1799. But further, what are our revenues at this moment? including the loan* they amount to - - - 56,768,701

Conſequently ſuch gigantic ſtrength as manifeſts itſelf here, will diſregard the weight of the peace eſtabliſhment. For it has been clearly ſhewn, by a brief ſurvey of the taxes themſelves, that, in order to raiſe the vaſt ſupplies of this moment, there is no preſſure

* Without the loan, £.38,853,024.

of

of taxes on the poor, or on the majority of the Engliſh nation. Upon this all further reaſoning is unneceſſary.

The war eſtabliſhment, however, having required an immenſe ſum, the principle was put in practice of raiſing the ſupplies for the year within the year. This was a great meaſure; fraught with incalculable good to prevent the ruin of wars, by preventing their rapid returns, and their ſure and accumulating deſtruction. But vicious egotiſm prompts men and nations not to think for their poſterity: they ſecure themſelves for the preſent, and leave the future to hazard or ruin. Great and eſſential advantages have reſulted from the attempt of adopting a contrary ſyſtem in raiſing the ſupplies within the year. The nation has derived benefit from it much more than ſufficient to prove the policy of the principle, and the propriety of adhering to it. But the ſum produced not having been nearly equal to what was expected and ought to have been received, this inadequate produce diſabled the miniſter from executing the plan to its full

extent. He therefore declined to perſevere in doing what he juſtly thought might have been done.

I ſhall beg leave to remark, that by raiſing the ſupplies within the year, this ſyſtem tended not only to protect ourſelves but to ſave poſterity. Hence there would have remained for them, inſtead of debt and deſpondency, an inheritance of eaſe and invaluable liberty.

The old ſinking fund, eſtabliſhed before the war, will attain its higheſt degree (four millions *per ann.*) in 1811; when taxes to the amount of two hundred thouſand pounds will immediately ceaſe; and the whole old debt be diſcharged in about thirty years (taken at 75 per cent.)

Likewiſe the new ſinking fund, eſtabliſhed to liquidate the debts of the preſent war, would have redeemed the whole of them in a period of between thirty-four and forty-five years from the time of their being contracted.

Thus

Thus this nation had a proſpect of being not only one day freed from debt, but of being ſoon eaſed from taxes. And to the debt no *permanent* addition could have been made; for whatever might have been incurred yearly during the war, would have been reduced to the annual amount of the ſinking fund, by *which* it would be finally diſcharged.

If it be aſked, however, how ſhould we be able to bear the burden in the mean time? I ſhall anſwer that queſtion by replying, that the debt of any nation is not a poſitive but a relative weight, which is to be eſtimated by her reſources.

I ſhall therefore conſider the *increaſe* of her *reſources* and the increaſe of her debt SINCE THIS WAR, and thus we ſhall ſee if her ability has kept pace with her burden. I ſhall next conſider her ſtate, at the cloſe of the laſt century, when unclogged with debt; and her ſtate at the preſent period, with her actual reſources and actual debt; and thus we ſhall ſee on which ſide is the

favourable balance of condition, in the paſt or the preſent times.

As this comparative view was intended to embrace a century, I have formed my calculations to the period of 1798. Had I formed them up to this moment, they would be conſiderably more favourable, and for an obvious reaſon: becauſe, the operation of the deductions to redeem the national debt has, as appears, levelled the debt of the preſent year, 1800, to about the amount on which I calculated, as the debt of 1798: whereas the branch of opulence which I oppoſe as a balance to the debt, namely, commerce and domeſtic trade, has augmented conſiderably ſince. The reader, therefore, will be ſo good as to bear this in mind, that if the reaſoning which follows had been applied to this moment, the concluſions would have been conſiderably more ſtrong. And he will alſo recollect, throughout this reaſoning, that I recur to only a *ſingle branch* of national opulence, in order to ſee our comparative ſtate, as to reſources and debts, before and ſince this

war,

war, and at the beginning and close of this century. I do not call in aid the amount of lands, houses, mines, canals, timber, tolls, farming capital, tythes, &c. &c. I shall shew that commerce alone, independant of all the other numerous branches of British opulence, evinces the improved faculty of this nation, and demonstrates that, if its resources be compared with its necessities, it is completely adequate to them, and infinitely more adequate now, than at any other period of comparison heretofore.

My reasoning shall be a short and clear statement in figures, founded upon official authorities: therefore I hope as the evidence will appear incontrovertible, so will the conclusions.

CHAP. III.

Financial State of Great Britain:

Or its Reſources compared with its Neceſſities before and ſince the *preſent War*, and before and ſince the *Acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover*, according to OFFICIAL AUTHORITIES.

FOREIGN TRADE.

THE annual average value of our *Imports* during ſeven years, from 1785 to 1791 incluſive, amounts to £. 17,740,000

Ditto from 1792 to 1798 incluſive - - - - - - 21,970,000

There-

Therefore there is an annual excefs in the laft feven years of - - - - - - - - -	£.4,230,000
The annual average value of our *Exports* during feven years, from 1785 to 1791 inclufive, amounts to - -	18,416,000
Ditto from 1792 to 1798 inclufive - - - - - - -	27,510,000
Therefore there is an annual excefs in the laft feven years of - - - - - - -	£.9,094,000
Confequently, as the annual average during the laft feven years, exceeds that of other years	
In imports - -	4,230,000
In exports - -	9,094,000
The *total yearly* increafe of *foreign* trade, during the laft feven years, is - - -	£.13,324,000

DOMESTIC TRADE.

	£.
According to Mr. Pitt*, and the beſt calculators at preſent, the ſtock or capital employed in domeſtic trade is at leaſt 133⅓ per cent. more than that employed in the foreign trade. And as the exceſs of that employed in the foreign trade has amounted annually to -	13,324,000
So the exceſs of that employed in the domeſtic trade (taking the capital at 133⅓ per cent. more than that on the foreign trade) will moſt fairly amount to - - - -	31,089,333

* Mr. Pitt, on introducing the income bill, ſtated, that the capital employed in the foreign trade gave, at 15 per cent. a taxable income of 12 millions, and the capital in the domeſtic trade gave, at 15 per cent. 28 millions; which ſhews that the ſtock employed in the latter was *one and a third*, or 133 per cent. more than that in the former: that is, the capital in foreign trade being 80 millions, that in domeſtic is about 186⅔—or total 266⅔ millions.

It

It is unneceſſary to remark here, that the increaſe of one unavoidably produces the increaſe of the other; like water flowing into one part of a reſervoir, it elevates the whole. Therefore,

	£.
The *total* YEARLY *increaſe* of capital in foreign trade being - - - - - -	13,324,000
and domeſtic trade - - -	31,089,333
The total during the laſt 7 years amounts to - - -	44,413,333

In order to make this calculation ſhort, I have viewed ſeven years at once through the average. But in order to know the *total* increaſe of ſtock or capital in the nation, during this *whole* period of the laſt ſeven years, we are to multiply by ſeven this yearly income of - - - - 44,413,333

7

£. 310,893,331

The nation therefore appears, by the unerring evidence of figures, and according to unqueſtionable authority, to have grown rich in ſtock or capital by above three hun-

dred and ten millions more, during the laſt ſeven years, than during any other ſeven years in any preceding period of time.

The great queſtion that follows is, what debts has the nation incurred during that period of ſeven years?

According to Mr. Roſe *, the money borrowed during *this* war amounts to £. 117,654,225; and the intereſt, and total annual charge of *this* debt, coſts the nation £. 7,931,215 †.

In order therefore to aſcertain how ſtand the finances or relative wealth of this nation before the war and at preſent, we are to conſider its loſs and gain in two manners: Firſt, as to the *entire capital* or groſs *increaſe* by commerce, and groſs *decreaſe* by debt. Next, as to the annual operation or *yearly* increaſe by commerce, and yearly decreaſe by *charges* of debt.

* Brief Examination.

† *N. B.* The ſum of £. 1,740,710. per ann. of the above annual charge, is for the gradual diminution of the national debt.

I. CAPITAL,

1. CAPITAL, or groſs increaſe by Commerce, and groſs decreaſe by DEBT:

	£.
The groſs ſtock or entire capital created by the increaſe of commerce, during the laſt ſeven years, amounts, as before ſtated, to - - - -	310,893,331
The groſs ſtock or entire ſum borrowed, which formed the debt of war during the ſame period, amounts to -	117,654,225
Conſequently, were the latter to be deducted from the former, the national ſtock would ſtill give an increaſed ſurplus, over the whole debt of war - - - - - £.	193,239,106

2. ANNUAL OPERATION, or yearly profits by Commerce, and yearly expences of DEBT:

This may be viewed in two manners, according to the applications of the ſtock, as follows:

1. If the amount of increaſe by commerce, which is £. 310,893,331, be calcu-

lated at common intereſt of 5 per cent. it produces *annually* - - - - - - -	£. 15,544,666
Deduct from this the *annual* charge of the debt of war -	7,931,215
Conſequently, the profits of the increaſed national ſtock give an annual ſurplus over the charges of the debt of war - - - - - - - -	£. 7,613,451

The other view of the application of ſtock is certainly more juſt, and as follows:

2. If we calculate the increaſe of national ſtock to be partly employed in commerce, that portion of it will produce 15 per cent. Taken at this rate by Mr. Pitt, the ſum of 266⅔ millions, produced, according to his eſtimate, an annual income or intereſt through foreign and domeſtic trade of - -	£. 40,000,000

Now,

Brought over -	£. 40,000,000
Now, if we deduct from the entire capital of £. 310,893,331 the before-mentioned ſum of £. 266,500,000, which is employed in foreign and domeſtic trade, there remains £. 44,393,331.	
The whole of this laſt ſum, £. 44,393,331 is probably employed in profitable purſuits, but we ſhall ſtate its product at only 5 per cent. - - - - -	2,219,666
Gain, or total intereſt from increaſed capital - - -	42,219,666
Loſs.—Deduct from this the annual charge of debt - -	7,931,215
Conſequently, the increaſed national ſtock gives thus an annual ſurplus over the charges of the debt of war	£. 34,288,451

Hence

Hence it is evident, that if the debt created by war be compared with the increaſe of national ſtock created by commerce in the ſame period, there is an exceeding to the amount of above one hundred and ninety-three millions.

Next, if the increaſe of national ſtock created by commerce during the war be calculated as producing a profit equal to common intereſt, it would diſcharge the annual expences of the debt created by war, and leave a preponderating balance of above ſeven millions *per annum*.

Laſtly, if the increaſed ſtock created by commerce ſince the war, be employed partly in commerce, and the remainder be calculated as producing a profit equal to common intereſt, it would diſcharge the annual expences of debt created by the war, and leave an annual ſurplus of above thirty-four millions.

Should any objections be made to this mode of reaſoning, I beg it may be obſerved, that I am here conſidering only national faculty; and as the ſtandard for that faculty, I take but the increaſe of national

ſtock

ſtock in commerce. It may be urged that imports ſhould not be conſidered as ſtock increaſed, they being frequently but a barter for export, and the capital returned in a new though more advantageous form. To this I anſwer, imports are fairly included: 1ſt. Becauſe they were included in the preceding periods of time, and the object is but *compariſon*, as to our reſources and neceſſities at different periods. 2d. Becauſe the whole ſtock of imports and exports forms but an inconſiderable portion of the national ſtock and opulence, compriſing lands, mines, canals, timber, tolls, houſes, income from public debt, farming capitals, tythes, ſhipping, furniture, plate, jewels, &c. &c. &c. all of which are omitted. 3d. Becauſe imports conſtitute but a ſmall ſhare of the joint ſtock of foreign and domeſtic trade. This objection therefore has no foundation, and if it had, it could be altogether done away by conſidering the nature and conſequences of our imports in the balance of trade, and in the balance of induſtry. But it is ſufficient to repeat, that imports are as fairly included at one period as at another; the object being

in

in both a comparative view of our reſources and neceſſities.

Another objection appears in an *aſſertion*, which has been urged ſo loud and often, that it ſeems to collect confidence; and in this ſenſe might appear formidable. Let us however examine it.

It has been ſaid, that this great commerce is the reſult of war, and therefore will ceaſe with peace. Here are two propoſitions, 1. Commerce has grown by War; and 2. It will decreaſe by peace. Happily, the reverſe of both theſe aſſertions ſeems nearer to the truth. For, firſt, commerce has advanced *during* war, but not *by* war. If we conſider European commerce, it is clear that the richer, the happier, and the more our neighbours are at their eaſe, the better cuſtomers they will be. Unfortunately, their ſtate has been totally different from this, and therefore I ſee no reaſon why the deſolation of neighbouring countries, the diminution of their population, their reduction from affluence to miſery and want, ſhould contribute to our proſperity. On the contrary, as they get peace, we ſhall get more of their cuſtom.

Again,

Again, if we conſider foreign commerce, it is very clear, from unerring documents, that the portion of it, which we have derived from our new acquiſitions, is really comparatively ſmall; and with reſpect to foreign exports, this part of our commerce has not increaſed; on the contrary, it has been decreaſing. Even during the laſt year, when the general tide of commerce was ſo great, the branch of foreign exports amounted to, £.

but - - - - - - - - 11,907,116

Whereas in the preceding year,

it amounted to - - - - 13,919,274.

And the reaſon is obvious: our cuſtomers were impoveriſhed and in diſtreſs. So that this aſſertion, "*that our great commerce is the reſult of war*, and therefore *will ceaſe with peace*;" merits no other anſwer or argument, than this ſtatement of facts. But though it appears that we have not gained a great deal by the war; it is however inſiſted on, in the ſecond place, that we ſhall loſe a great deal by the peace. Let us ſift this matter alſo.

Our trade conſiſts in Britiſh and foreign articles. With reſpect to Britiſh manufactures, there are two things of great weight

to

to be conſidered, namely, ſkill and capital; by the firſt, our manufactures are the beſt; by the ſecond, our credit is the longeſt. And by the joint operation of this ſuperior ſkill and capital, we have been enabled to underſell our rivals in their own markets before the War*; and I believe that as neither our ſkill nor capital has diminiſhed ſince the war, nor theirs increaſed, there is little danger of that part of the trade ceaſing on peace.

Now with reſpect to foreign goods, ſuch has been the progreſſive improvement in our colonies, that we cannot only afford their produce cheaper than the other European nations which formerly underſold us, the quality of the articles being a conſideration in the price, but we ſhall have, after ſupplying,

* Previous to the Revolution, there was an experiment made at the famous cloth manufactory of Sedan in France, by the order of government, to try to equal the Engliſh kerſeymeres. French kerſeymeres had been manufactured and ſold for about 3*s.* 6*d.* per yard; the Engliſh kerſeymeres were ſold from about 12*s.* to 14*s.* or more; but when the French kerſeymere of equal quality to the Engliſh was produced, the manufacturer declared he muſt have *conſiderably more* than the Engliſh price. The undertaking was therefore abandoned.

ſupplying ourſelves, a great ſuperfluity for them. And there is no fear but ſelf-intereſt will make them take off that ſuperfluity. For *cheapneſs* is ſelf-intereſt.

Men, however, would deduce from theſe two poſitions, which I have now examined, that on a peace the reſources of taxation will be gone, and the burdens of war remain, to which we ſhall be unequal. Here, however, as the premiſes are falſe, ſo muſt the concluſion be; becauſe our commerce does not depend upon our conqueſts; and becauſe our taxation does not depend upon the commerce ariſing from thoſe conqueſts. It is in truth to our own ſkill and capital, we are indebted for our commerce; and of this we have obvious and recent proofs. We have ſeen the exports of foreign goods decreaſe, on account of the poverty and deſolation of our cuſtomers, whereas, at the ſame period, we behold the exports of our native commodities advance with a rapid ſtride. The Britiſh manufactures exported laſt year, amounted to nearly five millions more, than theſe exported the preceding year. And they have increaſed, during war, above ten millions.

Amount

Amount of British manufactures	£.
exported 1793 - - - -	13,892,000
D° - - - in 1799 - - -	*24,081,000
Increase - -	£. 10,200,000

A stronger proof cannot be given of the influence of the skill and capital of this country. To these, and these alone, we owe the increase of our navigation, revenues, and commerce during war; which three points form just criteria of British prosperity. Let us view them.

First: The tonnage of Great Britain was augmented in 1798 fifty thousand tons, and in 1799 ninety thousand tons.

The total British tonnage was	Tons.
in 1793 - - - - - - -	1,490,000
D° - - - 1799 - - - - -	1,700,000
Increase during war - - -	210,000
Foreign bottoms employed in the commerce of Great Britain *outwards*, or for export, in 1793 - - - - - -	180,000
D° in 1799 - - - - - -	400,000
Increase during war - - -	220,000

* In the foregoing part of this work there was an error in the statement, which makes the amount of the British manufactures £.23,693,851. See p. 19. Tab. B. Year 1799.

These

Theſe facts require no comment; they are plain and viſible proofs of our proſperity.

Secondly: The immenſe increaſe of Revenues has been amply detailed in the preceding pages.

Thirdly: The commerce, according to the official rates, has been before ſtated (page 67) at a *yearly* increaſe of about thirteen millions, on an average of ſeven years to 1798 inclusive. But here we are to view its amount at the commencement of war and at preſent.

	£.
The commerce of Great Britain amounted, according to the official rates, in 1793, to - - - - -	39,666,000
D° - - - in 1799 - -	62,828,000
Increaſe during war -	£. 23,162,000

And as this commerce does not depend on our conqueſts, nor our taxation on our commerce ariſing from theſe conqueſts, the aſſertion therefore is altogether falſe, that we ſhall on peace be unequal to the burdens of war. Take away thoſe conqueſts, and the meridian ſplendor of commerce will appear ſtripped but of a beam.

That the nation might prove unequal to its burdens of taxation, an honeſt man however may fear, before he enters into the combinations of policy and commerce; and he may not perhaps have time or means for ſuch an inveſtigation. But it is a private duty and a public ſervice, from the performance of which no man can be diſpenſed at ſuch a moment as the preſent, who has time and means for ſuch an inveſtigation, becauſe he may thus contribute to the ſecurity and SUPPORT of MORAL ORDER.

There is an eaſy and ſhort mode of conſidering the poſitive and relative ſtate of nations, as to finance, and which is applied in the caſe of an individual, by ſeeing what he owes and what he is worth. I ſhall endeavour to make uſe of this ſtandard, in order to ſhew the poſitive and relative ſtate of this country; and ſhall follow the calculations of other perſons as well as of myſelf. I ſhall therefore firſt refer to a computation of the public and private property of this nation, by Mr. Beeke. See Table C.

TABLE C.

VALUE OF THE CAPITAL OF GREAT BRITAIN.

IN this ſketch may be ſeen, as Mr. Beeke has well obſerved, the immenſe amount to which human induſtry has raiſed the value of this country beyond that of its natural produce; and hence may be collected the immenſity of theſe loſſes, which would reſult from the overthrow of order, and deſtruction of the ſecurity of property. Many articles therefore have been included in this eſtimate, by Mr. Beeke, which are not convertible into money, but being neceſſary for the enjoyment of civil ſociety in its preſent form, muſt, if deſtroyed, be replaced at an expence far beyond what is here allowed for them.

PRIVATE PROPERTY.

Productive of Income.

	£.
1. Cultivated lands South Britain £.600,000,000, North Britain £.120,000,000	- 720,000,000

Brought over -	£. 720,000,000
2. Tythes in South Britain only, after deductions for the perſonal ſervice required on account of the part poſſeſſed by the clergy - - - -	75,000,000
3. Houſes not included in the rent of lands - - - -	200,000,000
4. Mines, canals, timber, tolls, &c. &c. - - - - -	100,000,000
5. Preſent value of income from the public debt - -	300,000,000
6. Farming capital, equal at preſent to not leſs, on an average, than 5 clear rents, viz. paſture 2 to 3, arable 5 to 7 rents - - - -	125,000,000
7. Home trade - - - -	120,000,000
8. Foreign trade and ſhipping	80,000,000
	£. 1,720,000,000

PRIVATE PROPERTY.

Unproductive of Income.

9. Waſte lands, after excluding all ſuch as are incapable of any improvement adequate	

to

to the expence; and alſo allowing for incidental diminution of the value of adjacent lands, in caſe of their loſs of the benefit of paſture, &c. about 10,000,000 acres - - - - - - -	£. 30,000,000
10. Houſehold furniture - -	160,000,000
11. Plate, jewels, and all other uſeful and ornamental articles not conſidered as houſehold furniture - - - - -	50,000,000
12. Specie, about - - - - -	40,000,000
Unproductive private property	280,000,000
Productive private property	1,720,000,000
Total - £.	2,000,000,000

PUBLIC PROPERTY.

The value of that part of the permanent income of the nation which is applicable to the annual expenditure, about - - - - - - -	£. 160,000,000

	£.
The value of that part which is appropriated to extinguiſh the public debt, about -	90,000,000
Value of ſhipping, arſenals, national buildings, ſtores, credits, and all other aſſets, after deducting all unfunded debt - - - - - - - -	15,000,000
Value of all provincial and municipal buildings, &c. &c. as churches, hoſpitals, bridges, priſons, &c. &c. with the effects belonging to them - - - - - -	25,000,000

N. B. A good deal of public has been already eſtimated with private property; ſuch as the crown lands, corporate incomes, &c. &c. But in ſuch a ſtatement as this, a more accurate analyſis appears to be unneceſſary.

Though the foregoing ſtatements depend on circumſtances which allow of conjecture in many parts, yet Mr. Beeke, not having made them in any inſtance without attention

tion to the general, civil, and political œconomy of the country, ſuppoſes they do not vary more than one tenth from the real value of the whole capital of Great Britain; he ſtates this to be, between *two thouſand* and *two thouſand five hundred* millions ſterling, *excluſive* of £.100,000,000 ſterling, the value of foreign poſſeſſions which belong to the inhabitants of this country, and the produce of which, if ſold, would be obviouſly a part of the national capital. But excluſive of theſe 100 millions, and excluſive of any value which might be aſſumed for perſonal labour, the real value is eſtimated as before ſtated. And if we include theſe, the amount of Mr. Beeke's eſtimate will be almoſt the ſame with one reſulting from a totally different mode of calculation which I have purſued, and ſhall ſtate hereafter. The probability is therefore that we have both met at or near the truth.

End of Table C.

SUCH being our capital, what is our debt? According to Mr. Irving, (p. 57) it is at its full nominal extent about three hundred and ſixty-one millions and a half; but according to its real value, it amounts to about two hundred and ſeventy-one millions. Suppoſe then the whole public debt were to be diſcharged at preſent, that is, ſuppoſe we were to take from the public and private ſtock of - - 2,300 millions.
The public debt of 271

There remains - 2,029 national property.

Now is the country ruined in this view of its Finances?

But I ſhall turn to other facts, and think I ſhall ſhew pretty clearly, except to ſuch perſons as will not be convinced, and who are entitled more to our pity than our indignation; I ſay I ſhall ſhew that this nation has no greater ſymptoms of ruin, if conſidered in a relative point of view, than it appeared to have in a poſitive one.

I ſhall here compare Great Britain with itſelf at different periods; and in order to demonſtrate

monſtrate the national ſuperiority in opulence and financial ſtrength, I ſhall limit myſelf to two branches of wealth, namely, trade and the funds.

	Millions.
According to Mr. Pitt's ſtatement, and I have many reaſons to think it juſt, the yearly profits on foreign trade at 15 *per cent.* amounted to - - -	15
The yearly profits on home and other trade, to - - - - - - - - -	28
The yearly profits on the funds, after deducting foreign property and various other ſums, amounted to - -	12
Total -	55

Thus we have a produce of fifty-millions *per ann.* on our trade and debt.

Now the queſtion is, what did our trade produce, for we ſhall charge no debt, a century ſince? According to the firſt authentic documents in 1697, the foreign commerce produced about 7 millions,

which

	per Ann.
which at 15 *per cent.* profit, gives about - - - - -	£.1,050,000
Calculating at the ſame rate for the home and other trade in the year 1697, and according to the ſame difference of proportions which now ſubſiſts between it and the foreign trade, viz. one and a third more, we ſhall have for the branch of home trade, about - - - -	2,430,000
Total yearly profits on trade 1697 - - -	3,500,000

Now, if we deduct this from the preſent profits*, we find the yearly income is increaſed by trade above 51 millions, *per ann.* From this annual increaſe, however, of above 51 millions *per ann.* it is fair to deduct the annual charges of debt; and then we ſhall find that this nation has grown

* Preſent profits on trade, &c. -	£. 55,000,000
Profits in 1697 - - - - - - -	3,500,000
Exceſs - -	51,500,000

richer

richer by trade and debt, conſidered together, to the amount of above thirty-ſeven millions a year more than before it had any debt whatever*. Such is the relative ſtate of this country at the cloſe of the laſt and the preſent century.

Let us now take another view of Great Britain, compared with other nations and herſelf, at the two extremes of the century. It appears by a book of Dr. D'Avenant's, that in the year 1698 the ſtate of Britain, France, and Holland, was as follows:

France loſt by the war about three millions *per annum* in income, Holland gained about three quarters of a million, and England loſt one million. Whereas during this war, the annual gain of Britain in 1798 above that of 1793, is an increaſe in domeſtic and foreign trade alone of about ſeventy millions. But in France, what is the reſult of the war on her finances? Such was its

* Annual increaſe - - - -	£.51,500,000
Deduct annual charges and intereſt of debt - - - -	14,330,000
The nation is richer by trade and debt than a century ſince -	37,170,000 *per ann.*

exhauſted

exhauſted ſtate lately, that unable to raiſe within itſelf ſome few millions of ſhillings, it offered to pledge the royal diamonds and the foreſts of Belgium, that is, the property of others, as ſecurity. And Holland appeared as if it would not or could not take thoſe ſecurities. Where are now the millions of French contributions and confiſcations? Surely we require no more ſenſible proof, that riches are not wealth, unleſs they are procured by honeſt induſtry. They fly as rapidly as they come, upon the wings of crimes. But I ſhall notice theſe confiſcations hereafter.

Having now ſhewn the relative ſtate of Britain, conſidered with other nations and itſelf, at different periods, I ſhall further lay before the reader a view of this nation, according to the plan and principles of Sir William Petty, following that ingenious and able man ſtep by ſtep in his mode of reaſoning. I do not preſume to ſay that Sir William Petty was right or wrong in his views; but whether or not, they will ſerve very fairly for the purpoſe of compariſon: for by applying his mode of reaſoning to the

the preſent period, we ſhall moſt juſtly ſee the relative ſtate of the nation in his time and our own.

According to Mr. Pitt, Britiſh lands, ſtock, and induſtry, produce above one hundred and twenty millions *per ann.*; of this ſum, land produces twenty-five and perſonal property fifteen, which together make forty, conſequently labour and induſtry produce the remainder, which is eighty millions. It is a principle of Sir William Petty's, that the *yearly value* of their induſtry is the yearly value of *a people*, and the *purchaſe* of a *maſs* of *mankind* is worth *as* much as that of *land*, (P. P. A. p. 25.): conſequently eighty millions, being the yearly value of their induſtry, if multiplied by twenty-five (which is the average purchaſe of land) make two thouſand millions to be the value of our people; this ſum divided by ten millions (which we ſhall ſuppoſe to be the number of the people) makes two hundred pounds to be the value of each man, woman, and child; and of adult perſons twice as much, or four hundred pounds. Whereas in Sir William Petty's time, according to a ſimilar eſtimate,

eſtimate, they were worth but eighty pounds *per* head.

N. B. Is it not cheaper to buy foreign ſoldiers than loſe our own men, ſince each adult is worth four hundred pounds?

Having now before us the increaſed value of our people, through their increaſed induſtry, let us take a view of the comparative value of the whole nation, at the beginning and cloſe of this century.

	Millions.
According to a manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum *, it appears that this nation was eſtimated in 1688 at -	650
Now it appears, that the people at this day may be eſtimated at - -	2,000
The lands produce 25 millions annually, which at 25 years purchaſe make - - - - - - - - - -	625
Total value - -	2,625
Deduct from this the value in 1688 -	650
Increaſed value of the nation in the courſe of this century - - -	1,975

The

* Political Obſervations, MSS. Harl. Britiſh Muſeum, No. 1,898.

The reader will find, on turning to Mr. Beeke's eſtimate of the nation, p. 87, that there is no great difference between us in a calculation of ſuch magnitude as two thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-five millions; and that the above valuation, ſo ſimple in its mode, nearly correſponds with that gentleman's numerous and well-conſidered details. His eſtimate is between two thouſand and *two thouſand five hundred millions ſterling*, excluſive of *one hundred millions* that might be added to national capital, and excluſive of any value which might be aſſumed for perſonal labour. Theſe collectively are not far from the above ſtatement of two thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-five millions. But let the loweſt eſtimate of either of us be compared with that at the cloſe of the laſt century, and then who will aſſert that the ſtate of the nation was better in paſt than in the preſent times *?

* One plain and ſtriking inſtance of the improved faculty of this nation may be ſeen as follows. Amidſt documents of the ſtate of the nation in 1698, it appears that the yearly aſſeſſment on London, Weſtminſter, and Middleſex, amounted to £. 175,969. 12 *s*. Whereas the king's taxes

taxes during the laſt year, in the ſingle pariſh of St. Mary-le-Bone, amount to about £. 330,000, and would amount to much more were not a large portion of the income tax paid by ſome in the city and by others in the country. This is above £. 154,031 over the whole city of London and Weſtminſter, and the entire county of Middleſex, a century ſince. Such is the improved ſtate of this country, and the reſults of an happy government and proſperous commerce. But let us take a comparative view of the progreſſion of only 40 years.

AMOUNT of KING'S TAXES in the Pariſh of ST. MARY-LE-BONE:

Old Duties in 1759, about - - -	£. 320
Land Tax, D° - - - - - - -	500
Total - -	£. 820
Old Duties in 1799 - - -	£. 120,000

Conſequently there is an increaſe in 40 years of above £. 119,000 in one pariſh, excluſive of the income tax, which (£. 230,000) if added to it would make an increaſe of £. 349,000 in 40 years. The pariſh rates form another proof of this increaſed opulence.—In the year 1687 they produced £. 35. 1 *s.* 5 *d.*; in 1799 they produced £. 34,247. 17 *s.* 7 *d.* In the former period the number of houſes was 86, in the latter 6,500 houſes were rated; there are however about 9,000 in the pariſh.

CHAP. IV.

History, Progress, and State of the Public Funds.

THIS nation owes some portion of its success to the influence of the public funds upon commerce, and all their multiplied effects upon industry and finances.

In times of danger the desire of security, and of interest paid to the proprietor during the deposit, caused large sums to be lodged in the hands of goldsmiths. Banking grew up from this seed; property acquired circulation, industry a new spring, products an higher price, and money a lower interest. In the time of Henry VIII. it had been borrowed at 10 *per cent.*; in 1623 it was reduced to 8 *per cent.*; and in 1651 to 6 *per cent.*

The Bank of England was established in 1694. Its benefits in facilitating the trans-

fer of property, and in encouraging great national eſtabliſhments, were ſpeedily and efficaciouſly felt. While the government had iſſued but tallies of wood to ſupply the place of ſpecie, and ſome men hoarded their caſh, and others could not obtain it for labour or property, England felt a debility in war. At the cloſe of the Revolution in 1697, the Bank of England came to its aid, by facilitating loans and circulating exchequer bills. Hence circulation was invigorated, and the transfer of property became eaſy and rapid. In 1702, the government borrowed money at 5 and 6 *per cent.*

The ſyſtem of borrowing aroſe partly from the exigencies of the ſtate, when larger ſums were requiſite than could have been raiſed within the year, and the *country* was *inadequate* to the payment of more than the annual intereſt of the ſum borrowed. This national incapacity, together with political conſiderations at the moment, whereby it was deemed prudent to link public ſtability with the intereſts of private property, and to borrow the fortunes of individuals upon the ſecurity of a new eſtabliſhed government, formed

formed the origin of the funding ſyſtem. The author of it was Dr. Burnet, biſhop of Sarum. The funds were properly the *revenues*, which were ſecured to the lenders for the payment of the intereſt, but at preſent the funds ſignify the principal which had been borrowed; and funds and ſtocks are indiſcriminately, though not properly, uſed as ſynonimous terms.

The amount of theſe funds gives the amount of the national debt; but no creditor is at liberty to reclaim this portion of that debt, though he can readily transfer it, and thus obtain his principal. The facility of this transfer, and the little expence attending it, together with the punctual payment of the intereſt, cauſe many perſons to prefer thoſe advantages to private ſecurities, generally troubleſome and often uncertain. The greateſt part of the funds conſiſts of perpetual annuities, with a power of redemption reſerved to parliament. The other parts conſiſt of annuities for a fixed number of years, and of annuities for life. The ſecurity for the payment is the entire nation. The value of that ſecurity, as we have ſeen,

is about two thouſand millions and an half, for an annual intereſt of about fourteen millions upon a debt whoſe *real value* is about two hundred and ſeventy-one millions. The funds therefore, from their ſecurity and facility of transfer, are as commodious as coin, for the purchaſer or improver of lands, for the trader in manufactures, or for the individual to diſcharge his private debts or public taxes. That the active motion thus given to property brought benefits to ſociety no man will doubt; and that theſe benefits enabled the people to meet and ſupport greater burdens with greater facility, and conſequently new nerved the arm of government, no man will deny. For, as population and induſtry are the ſtrength and wealth of nations, and the broad ſhield of Britain is its navy; and as that navy depends on its commerce, and the energetic principle of commerce is vigorous circulation; whatever therefore promotes this wiſely, promotes our proſperity ſoundly.

This effect was felt by the reduction of the intereſt of the public debt, in 1716, from ſix to five per cent. at which amount it was fixed,

fixed, and a ſinking fund was formed of the ſurplus. This financial operation was agreed to, becauſe the productive capital of individuals in the funds was not affected by the taxes which fell totally on annual income. But in the reign of George II. 1727, a further reduction was made from five to four per cent.; and the ſtill increaſing proſperity of 1750, marked by overflowing coffers and rapid circulation, cauſed the intereſt to be reduced to three and an half per cent. for ſeven years, and afterward to three per cent. for ever.

Having thus traced, in the origin and progreſs of the funds, the ſtate of the nation through the century, for they form together with the intereſt of money a ſpecies of barometer for our commerce, manufactures, and navigation, we muſt now revert to a moment that ſeemed to caſt gloom and awe upon the minds of men. The ſtoppage of caſh payments at the Bank was conſidered as the forerunner of ruin: whereas it was partly the conſequence of proſperity.

There are three events, of which hiſtory will hand down the detail to poſterity, not

only as records of the ſtate of Europe, but as monumental deſcriptions of the pangs of an expiring age. The firſt is the awful Revolution of France, which undermining thrones and altars, has defolated the moral and phyſical world. It has been a ſcene of bloodſhed, buffoonery, and robbery. The ravages committed upon the finances of nations ſhall be ſummarily ſtated here. (See Table D.)

TABLE D.

ENUMERATION of the CONTRIBUTIONS, CONFISCATIONS, and REQUISITIONS, by the French, to the Year 1798 inclusive.

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
Territory of his Imperial Majesty - -	1,402,350,000	56,094,000
Ditto of his Prussian Majesty - - -	5,980,000	239,200
Holland - - - - - - -	873,745,000	34,949,800
Various territories, from Holland to Alsace; particularly the country between the Moselle, Meuse, and Rhine - -	145,780,000	5,831,200
Trieste - - - - - - -	6,120,000	244,800
Palatinate - - - - - -	12,462,000	498,480
Deux Ponts - - - - - -	4,455,000	178,200
Suabia - - - - - - -	57,758,408	2,310,337
Duchy of Bergen - - - - -	2,464,000	98,560
The Empire. Second Campaign - -	464,061,375	18,562,455
Wittemberg - - - - - -	13,031,100	521,244
Bavaria - - - - - - -	16,970,000	678,800
Baden - - - - - - -	3,345,000	133,800
Milan, or Cisalpine Republic - - -	284,000,000	11,360,000
Sardinia; considerable tract of territory.		
Modena - - - - - - -	10,400,000	416,000
Lucca - - - - - - -	5,000,000	200,000
Parma - - - - - - -	3,850,000	154,000
Naples - - - - - - -	150,000	6,000
Genoa - - - - - - -	4,000,000	160,000
Tuscany - - - - - -	8,000,000	320,000
Imperial territory.		
Venice - - - - - - -	172,045,788	6,881,832
Spain - - - - - - -	30,000,000	1,200,000
Portugal - - - - - - -	36,000,000	1,440,000
Switzerland - - - - - -	10,300,000	412,000
Hamburg - - - - - - -	7,000,000	280,000
Bremen and Lubeck - - - -	3,000,000	120,000
Total - -	3,582,267,681	143,290,708

ESTIMATE of the Losses sustained by Europe through the Means of the French Republic.

[The losses of men and the expences of war are not included here, as England alone has spent many million pounds sterling]

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
Total amount of requisitions and contributions, as specified - - - - -	3,582,267,681	143,290,707
Loss of the Dutch, by the bankruptcies of the Great Nation - - - - -	1,920,000,000	76,800,000
Unvalued property; as plate of the churches, maintenance of the armies, palaces, houses, national domains, property of the emigrants in the conquered countries, fortifications, ceded territories, their regular revenues, &c. &c. - - -	20,000,000,000	800,000,000
Enormous amount of assignats, mandats, &c. poured out amongst mankind, whereby millions of credulous people were deceived.—Fifty milliards of assignats; whereof (including what was lost by foreigners in the public funds) one third may be taken in calculation -	16,666,666,666	666,666,667
A great number of large and small American vessels, taken without a declaration of war, by piracy, which amount in number to more than one thousand; and valuing each with its cargo at only £.1000, the amount is - - - - -	25,000,000	1,000,000
A number of vessels taken from the other neutral powers together - - -	100,000,000	4,000,000
N. B. We do not reckon the losses of Great Britain and Ireland in commercial vessels, as the French have lost more than their amount in ships of war.		
Total loss of Europe in money, goods, and territory - -	42,293,934,347	1,691,757,374

Should any one find this calculation over-rated, he will please to consider, that all the countries conquered by the French nation were the most rich, populous, industrious, and fruitful parts of the Continent, and that this turbulent republic has at present the best fourth part of Europe under her command. She has so rounded and fortified herself, that she is enabled to keep all nations in a state of perpetual agitation.

End of Table D.

THE next event, and awful indeed to this nation, was the mutiny of our fleet. The heart of Britain was for the firſt time ſick.

The third event, and which principally belongs to this place, is the one relative to the Bank. It alarmed commercial confidence, the ſource of Britiſh opulence and power. The miſrepreſentations of bad men were never more active, and the miſconceptions of the credulous and timid were never more awake. General bankruptcy was in many men's mouths, and hopes and fears agitated moſt men's hearts. The government was accuſed of having drained the Bank for its exigencies, and it was loudly aſſerted that national credit and individual ſupport were at an end. No induſtry was ſpared to maintain, by diſcourſe and writings, that the Bank had taken men's money to give it to the miniſter, and had nothing left but paper and inſolvency. It was openly abuſed by the enemies of govern-

ment, as being ſolely a miniſterial inſtrument to dupe and defraud men, while it amuſed them with a bubble of nominal wealth by ſcraps of printed paper. The infamous tranſaction of the French Bank under the Regent and Law, the South Sea bubble at home, the aſſignats and mandats of modern France—all were quoted as ſimilar impoſitions, in order to intimidate and madden men into deſpair, and to roll popular fury and odium on the government.

Perhaps a wiſer leſſon cannot be given to mankind, on popular reports and the extreme caution neceſſary to be uſed in adopting prejudicial repreſentations on men and things, than this occurrence affords. I have therefore ſtated it, that men ſhould be on their guard for the future, by ſeeing how much they have been deceived on the preſent ſtate of the nation. I have ſaid before, that this ſtoppage of caſh payment, inſtead of being the forerunner of ruin, was partly the conſequence of national proſperity. I ſhall prove this:

The two principal points ſo loudly inſiſted on were, firſt, that the Bank was inſolvent, having

having but paper; next, that the mal-conduct of the government had produced bankruptcy. Let us examine these two points.

A committee of secrecy, composed of fifteen members of the House of Commons, was appointed to investigate this business. By their report it appeared, that the Bank was not in a state of insolvency; but on the contrary, that on examining all its accounts, there was a considerable balance in favour of the Bank.

	£.
The accounts of the outstanding demands on the Bank, the 25th February 1797, amounted to - - - - -	13,770,390
The assets to answer these debts - - - - - - -	17,597,293
Consequently the balance between total debt and total credit, amounted in favour of the Bank, to - - -	3,826,903

So

So far therefore the firſt charge was falſe; and the ſecond was not more true; which accuſed the government of having cauſed a bankruptcy by draining the coffers of the Bank, and thereby the pockets of the public.

It appeared by the report of this committee, that the cauſes of the ſtoppage of caſh payments were, firſt, a general diminution of bank paper; for the circulation of Great Britain being carried on by coin and paper, and a failure having taken place in the country banks, and reduced their number from two hundred and eighty to two hundred and thirty, this created an alarm. The conſequence was, that payments were demanded in ſpecie, which ſpecie was drawn from the metropolis. At the ſame time that the iſſue of country bank bills was diminiſhed, the Bank of England alſo had diminiſhed the quantity of its own paper in circulation. Conſequently this two-fold diminution of paper cauſed a double demand for ſpecie.

But it is in the ſecond place important to remark, that this demand for caſh circulation

lation was augmented in a wonderful degree, through all the channels and rotations of a greatly extended commerce. The proof of this increaſed commerce has been given before.

In the third place, this increaſed demand for caſh was not ſupported by an increaſed importation of bullion, as was teſtified by Sir John Hort, which was further verified by the natural conſequence of this diminiſhed import, namely, a diminiſhed exportation of bullion, which was found not to have been one third of the former annual average. And the fact of this reduced importation received additional corroboration by the account of the coinage at the Mint, which was not more, in the years 1795 and 1796, than one ſixth of what had been coined in the preceding years. (See Table E.)

TABLE E.

From the year 1785, there was in general above 2½ millions value of gold annually coined; but for two years previous to the ſtoppage at the Bank, there was not half a million each year.

	£.
It was one year - - - - -	493,416
The next - - - - - - - -	464,680

This is not more than a ſixth of what was coined annually in the two preceding years, and greatly inferior to what had been coined upon an average of the former years of his Majeſty's reign.

Since his preſent Majeſty's Acceſſion to 1797, that is, in 37 years*, the coinage amounted to - - - -

	£.
	57,338,036

An

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* The total coinage, in a century, from 1558 to 1659, amounted to - - - - -

	£.
	19,832,476
From 1659 to 1784 (about 125 years) -	77,247,102

An Account of GOLD and SILVER coined during his Majesty's reign, from 25th October 1760, to 18th March 1797, (given in to the Lords of the Committee of Secrecy).

Signed, James Morrison,
Deputy Master.
John Wyett,
Deputy Comptroller.

GOLD.				SILVER.						
Pounds Weight.	Value.			Weight.				Value.		
	£.	s.	d.	lbs.	oz.	dwts.	gr.	£.	s.	d.
1,225,781	57,274,617	4	6	20,451	11	8	5	63,419	6	8
	63,419	6	8							
Total Value of Gold and Silver coinage -	57,338,036	11	2							

End of Table E.

In the fourth place, during war, any given quantity of commerce requires greater capital, on account of the increaſed expence of freight, inſurance, and mercantile charges; and this, together with increaſed exports, require an immenſe circulation to ſupport the internal demand.

In the fifth place, in time of war alſo there is a greater demand for circulating capital without. The war, which ended in 1762, required for its purpoſes ſolely on the Continent of Europe, a ſupply of above twenty millions and an half. (See Table F.)

TABLE F.

An Account of Subſidies paid for the Troops of the Empreſs of Ruſſia, King of Sweden, King of Pruſſia, Elector of Bavaria, Elector of Hanover, Duke of Brunſwick, Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and of Sums paid for all Britiſh Troops ſerving on the Continent of Europe; and Money remitted for Extraordinary Military Expences to the ſaid Continent, in the War ending 1763.

Richard Moleſworth,
Accountant of the Paymaſter
General's Office.

Pay Office, Horſe Guards,
21ſt April 1797.

Total ſum - £.20,626,997. 0*s.* 7*d.*

End of Table F.

THE preſent war required a ſupply on the ſame Continent of above fourteen millions and a half. (See Table G.)

TABLE G.

An Account of the Expences abroad in each Year since the Beginning of the War, including Loan to the Emperor, and Subsidies to Prussia and Sardinia.

£.32,810,977. 2*s*. 2½*d*.

Charles Long.

Whitehall Treasury Chambers,
24th April 1797.

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N. B. Of the above it appears that there was, during the above four years, expended on the Continent, including the Imperial Loan, and the advances to the Emperor, £.14,988,422. 9*s*. 6*d*.

End of Table G.

THE following facts are alſo deſerving of notice, inaſmuch as they confirm the neceſſity of an increaſed circulation in time of war. This will appear in the ſubſequent accounts of payments, loans, and ſubſidies. See Table H.

TABLE H.

Account of Remittances and Payments for the Services of War in the Weſt Indies, Continent of Europe, Iſland of Corſica, and other Parts of the World, in the Four laſt Years.

£. 33,510,779. 0*s.* 7*d.*

Charles Long.

Whitehall Treaſury Chambers,
13th April 1797.

N. B. Loans to Ireland are not included in the above.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
The amount of Loan to the Emperor - - -	5,570,000	0	0
Pruſſian ſubſidy - - -	1,223,890	10	6
Sardinian ſubſidy - -	500,000	0	0
Sums for Foreign and Emigrant Corps - -	3,540,000	0	3

	£.	s.	d.
Amount of Foreign Secret Service, deducting £. 25,000. *per ann.* paid out of the Civil List - - - - - -	345,079	16	0½

	£.
	345,079
£. 25,000 *per ann.* four years - -	100,000
Total secret service, four years - -	445,079

N. B. The above sums are included in foregoing accounts.

Payments made to Foreign Corps, including Subsidies to Sardinia and Prussia.

	£.	s.	d.
Sardinian subsidy - -	500,000	0	0
Prussian ditto - - -	1,223,891	10	6
Hanoverian troops -	1,410,508	3	11
Brunswick ditto - - -	110,516	3	2
Carry over -	3,244,915	17	7

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over -	3,244,915	17	7
Heſſian ditto - - -	875,048	17	2
Darmſtadt ditto - -	206,753	19	1
Baden ditto - - - -	26,990	0	10
Sundry Emigrant Corps -	1,360,434	16	0
	5,714,143	10	9

Richard Moleſworth,
Accountant of Paymaſter
General's Office.

Paymaſter General's Office,
Whitehall, 23d March 1797.

End of Table H.

THESE facts ſhew the neceſſity of extended circulation in time of war.

In the ſixth place, add to theſe the numerous and expenſive enterprizes, which have not diminiſhed as amidſt former wars, but have augmented prodigiouſly. See Table I.

TABLE I.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of BILLS of INCLOSURE, and alſo of Bills for improving NAVIGABLE RIVERS, together with the Sums permitted to be raiſed for the above Purpoſes.

BILLS OF INCLOSURE.			NAVIGATION AND CANAL BILLS.		
Years.	Number.		Years.	Number.	Sums raiſed and authoriſed to be borrowed.
1789 -	33	No ſpecific ſums are authorized to be raiſed by Incloſure Acts.	1789 -	3	£. 132,500
1790 -	25		1790 -	8	377,400
1791 -	40		1791 -	10	803,700
1792 -	40		1792 -	9	1,063,600
Four years before war	138			30	2,377,200
1793 -	60		1793 -	28	£. 3,141,700
1794 -	74		1794 -	18	2,588,500
1795 -	77		1795 -	11	378,900
1796 -	72		1796 -	12	1,306,000
Four years of war -	283			69	7,415,100

GEORGE ROSE,
Cler' Parliamentor'.

Theſe are no light proofs of the improved opulence, and great ſtate of a nation. Such undertakings required alſo additional circulation, as increaſed induſtry requires increaſed payments. By the preceding Table it appears, that the number of bills of *incloſure* which paſſed during four years preceding the war was *one hundred and thirty-eight*, and the number during four years of war *two hundred and eighty-three*. It appears further, that the number of bills for *navigation* and *canals*, during four years preceding the war, was *thirty*, and the number during four years of war *ſixty-nine*. And further: the ſum authorized to be borrowed for making theſe canals and navigations was in the firſt four years above *two* millions (£.2,377,200); whereas in the laſt four years it was above *ſeven* millions (£.7,415,100). All theſe facts prove to demonſtration, that neither the Bank nor the nation was bankrupt; and ſhew, by unequivocal and authentic documents, that the charges againſt the Bank and the Government were falſe and groundleſs, and that the ſtoppage of caſh payments aroſe in a great meaſure

from the prosperity of the country, from its increased commerce, increased enterprizes, increased improvements, and increased demands of cash circulation. Such was the state of Britain, while the European nations round it were sunk or tottering into ruin.

If any thing were imputable to the Bank, it was neither want of capital nor want of honesty, but a too abundant prudence. And can this be a matter of imputation in such a concern? It was said, the directors did not avail themselves of the extent of their credit. This is a very dubious point. Besides had they not a right to reduce the amount of their notes in circulation?* It is not denied,

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* ACCOUNT of the Amount of BANK OF ENGLAND NOTES in Circulation, on an average of every Three Months, from the 25th day of March 1797, in the years 1797, 1798, 1799, and 1800: distinguishing the Amount of Notes below the value of Five Pounds.

AMOUNT of Bank of England Notes, of FIVE POUNDS each and upwards:

	1797.	1798.	1799.	1800.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
Dec. - to 25th March - - - - - - -	11,345,180	11,585,210	13,413,420	
[illegible] to 25th June - -	10,213,032	11,290,610	12,118,890	13,490,720
[illegible] to 25th Sept. - -	9,762,130	10,294,150	12,155,360	13,374,870
[illegible] to 25th Dec. - -	10,411,700	10,711,630	12,335,920	13,538,170

(*continued.*)

nied, however, that during the multiplied occasions of the mercantile world for a circulating medium, the demand for cash increased, in the double proportion of diminished paper and augmented commerce. Nor is it denied, that the restriction of discounts at the Bank at that moment created alarms which increased the drain of cash; and forced the sale and depreciation of public securities, because there was not a supply in notes sufficient for the demands and employment of active capital. But since the Bank discounts even in time of war at five *per cent.* may there not be a disposition to borrow more of the Bank than it would be prudent in the Bank to lend, at a moment when

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(CONTINUED.)

AMOUNT of Bank of England Notes, of £. 2. and £. 1. each:

	1797.	1798.	1799.	1800.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
From 25th Dec. - to 25th March - - - - - - -	1,658,300	1,627,250	1,[illegible]	
25th March to 25th June - -	992,850	1,933,830	1,601,570	1,[illegible]
25th June - to 25th Sept. - -	1,066,750	1,821,490	1,604,580	1,81[illegible]
25th Sept. - to 25th Dec. - -	1,230,700	1,730,380	1,671,040	2,[illegible]

N. B. The Amount of Notes for the last Quarter, in the year 1800, can only be made to the 6th instead of the 25th December.

Bank of England,
15th December 1800.

Wm Walton,
Acct G[illegible]

when men get a much higher intereſt from Government than they pay to the Bank? Theſe things no man will deny: or will any one deny that thoſe able men at the head of the Bank do not beſt underſtand the nature of their own intereſts? Who are better able to calculate the immediate or remote conſequences of their proceedings? Let the foregoing cauſes of their conduct be examined, or at leaſt let the conſequences of it convince the world that the Bank of England was never more ſolidly eſtabliſhed, and never more honeſtly or ably governed than at the very moment it was ſaid to totter on the abyſs of bankruptcy. Weakneſs and wickedneſs unfortunately found a ſanction for credulity at the moment, in the torn condition of Europe, in the ruin of mercantile houſes, and in the overthrow of great commercial eſtabliſhments; all of which gave a general ſhock to confidence, pervaded credit, and deranged the whole courſe of circulation. No man will doubt theſe things, who caſts his eye over the loſſes and depredations ſuſtained by Europe. (See

Table

Table D.) And the Briton who contemplates theſe will feel like a Briton, that is, with an heart ſenſibly alive to the ſufferings of his fellow man under a bloody and cruel oppreſſion; but at the ſame time his ſoul will generouſly glow at the proud ſecurity, and at the unparallelled but honeſt opulence of his native country.

CHAP. V.

Agriculture; Regulations; and Waſte Lands.

EVERY thing in the world is purchaſed by labour, and our neceſſities and paſſions are the only cauſes of that labour. The agriculturiſt is ſpurred on by want and luxury to create a ſuperfluity, that he may exchange it for the mechanic productions of the manufacturer: the manufacturer is rouſed by the ſame principle; and the ſuperfluities of both being beyond the neceſſities of either, the foundation of commerce is laid. The more labour is employed the more powerful any ſtate becomes; becauſe in time of war it is eaſy to convert many of thoſe engaged in the different branches of induſtry into ſoldiers, and to maintain them with the ſuperfluity produced by the remaining members. Thus it is that pub-

lic

lic power and private proſperity keep pace with one another, and individual ſecurity goes hand in hand with national ſtrength and opulence.

In ſurveying the progreſs of nations from rudeneſs to refinement, we perceive that as they advance toward abundance in manufactures and mechanic arts, the proprietors of land as well as the farmers begin to ſtudy agriculture as a ſcience, and to redouble their induſtry and attention. In this country we have no account of any improvements in agriculture, until about the time of Richard II. (1381.) It was, however, but little underſtood until the reign of Henry VIII. Few of thoſe fruits which now crown our repaſts with vegetable gold were then known, and many of our culinary plants * were then firſt introduced. The new æra formed by the Revolution not only diſplayed itſelf in the principles of government with reſpect to the ſovereign's prerogative

* Such as cabbages, ſalads, carrots, turnips, &c. There are even now different ſpecies of vegetables in uſe on the Continent, and chiefly in Germany, which are not introduced into our gardens.

gative and the ſubject's rights, but manifeſted its influence on agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. During the warlike reign of William, however, no agricultural law was paſſed. During the hoſtilities of Queen Anne there were *two* enacted. During the reign of George I. there were ſixteen: and during the reign of George II. two hundred and ſixteen. Whereas from the commencement of his preſent Majeſty's Reign to the year 1776, there were one thouſand five hundred and thirty-two acts paſſed *; and out of two millions eight hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand acres incloſed ſince the Revolution, two millions eight hundred and four thouſand were incloſed during his Majeſty's reign. (See Table K.)

* Since the year 1788 there have 643 acts paſſed.

TABLE K.

TABLE of the ACTS of INCLOSURE, according to the different Sovereigns Reigns.

REIGN.	Number of Acts.	Extent of Land inclosed.
		Acres.
Queen Ann - -	2	1,438
George I. - - -	16	17,666
George II. - - -	226	318,778
George III. - - -	1,532	2,804,197

Report of Committee on Waſtes.

End of Table K.

SINCE the year 1788, no leſs than ſix hundred and forty-three acts of inclofure have paſſed: out of which four hundred and ſeventy have been ſince the war commenced. (See Table L.)

TABLE L.

ACCOUNT of BILLS of INCLOSURE.

Years.		N° of Bills.
1788		35
1789, 1790, 1791, 1792	4 years before war	138
1793, 1794, 1795, 1796	4 years of war	283
1797, 1798, 1799	3 years of war	187
	Total	643

End of Table L.

SUCH has been the progreſſive ſtate of agriculture.

Our population and opulence, however, have outſtripped theſe great improvements. For notwithſtanding the numerous incloſures, there is a conſiderable deficiency between the growth of corn and the ſupply now neceſſary for this country. We have before us authentic facts, ſhewing how much agriculture has been promoted; and I ſhall now bring facts to prove, that even this improved ſtate of agriculture evinces, by the ſtill inadequate ſupply, a far greater improvement in the general ſtate of the nation.

Great Britain gained by the exportation of corn till 1765. Whereas an increaſed opulence and population, and the conſequent ſupply which became neceſſary, have created a conſiderable balance againſt us by an unavoidable importation. I ſhall ſtate the particulars of this loſs ariſing from the deficiency of home-ſupply, becauſe it not only evinces the great advancement of the nation in population and opulence, &c. but becauſe it is connected with, and leads us to, two important points of conſideration, which follow:

Account of the ANNUAL Loss ſuſtained by the Nation, from the Growth of Corn being inadequate to the Conſumption.

Vouchers:

Account laid before Parliament, by Wm. Irving, Eſq; Inſpector General.

Adam Smith.

	Quarters.
The average quantity of corn exported during 15 years preceding 1765, annually - -	348,668
The average price per quarter, during the ſame term of years, was above £. 2. per quarter -	2
Annual amount of corn formerly exported, and now loſt to us -	£. 697,336

Account of Commerce of G. B. No. 11. T. Irving, Eſq; late Inſpector General.

Average amount of corn imported annually, during 3 years, to January 1799 - - - - - -	2,708,406

Report of Committee of Secrecy, No. 31.

N. B. £. 2,400,000 was paid in caſh for corn, on the average of 3 years to 1797.

Bounties on corn imported during 1796 - - - - - - - -	602,093

Wm. Irving, Eſq; Inſpector General.

N. B. There were no bounties on imports in 1797 and 1798, therefore no average can be formed on 3 years to 1799.

Total - -	£. 4,007,835

Two

Two things preſent themſelves for conſideration here. Firſt, there is a deficiency of corn, attended with a loſs of four millions to the nation yearly. Next, there are millions of acres of waſte lands, attended with a loſs, as I ſhall hereafter ſhew, of above eighteen millions *per ann.* if conſidered only in their agricultural value to the nation, and attended with incalculable loſſes in other points of view.

With reſpect to theſe loſſes on corn, either we have ſufficient land under tillage and bad agricultural regulations, or we have not ſufficient land under tillage, and ſhould incloſe our waſtes. Both points are partly true. Our agricultural regulations are defective, and our waſtes ſhould be incloſed. Theſe are matters of ſufficient importance to deſerve further and peculiar notice. Firſt, then, as to our agricultural regulations.

The bounty laws have many advocates in their favour, and great advantages attributed to their efficacy. But I muſt beg leave to join with one great authority more valuable than a thouſand others, namely, Adam Smith, and ſtate ſome reaſons which, ope-

rating on my judgment, make me believe that the bounty laws are ſomewhat worſe than defective.

It is aſſerted, that bounties have raiſed the price of corn, and through this improved price have extended agriculture. Now in order to diſcover the fallacy of this propoſition, we have only to conſider what is the conſequence of an increaſed price, and what is the nature of this bounty.

An increaſe in the price of corn is an increaſe in the price of ſubſiſtence, which naturally reſtrains conſumption, and conſequently agriculture. And again, it injures agriculture, becauſe an increaſed price of ſubſiſtence is a check to population. And further, the increaſed price of ſubſiſtence naturally increaſes the price of labour, and conſequently leſſens the ability of the farmer to extend cultivation. And again, the increaſed price of ſubſiſtence increaſes the price of manufactures; ſo that what coſt the farmer before 3*s.* 6*d.* now coſts him 4*s.* * and

* The landed gentlemen would do well to conſider this reaſoning with reſpect to increaſed rentals, which finally

and conſequently he has really no increaſe in his profits to enable him to extend his agriculture. For theſe few reaſons I do deny that bounties, by increaſing the price of corn and ſuſtenance, extend agriculture.

Now let us ſift the nature of thoſe bounties. They are in truth a tax taken out of the pockets of the nation, for the expreſs and ſtrange purpoſe of enabling them to buy corn dearer; that is, of raiſing the price of ſuſtenance; that is, of reſtraining population; that is, of increaſing, in a manifold manner, the price of labour, and thereby loading and checking the progreſs and conſumption of manufactures. Such is the internal nature of thoſe bounties, or the conſequence of them within the kingdom. What is it without? The operation of our bounties is not leſs deadly without. By rendering corn cheaper abroad it reduces the price of ſuſtenance abroad, and conſequently the price of foreign manufactures; whereas it raiſes the price of ſuſtenance at home, and conſequently

finally and inevitably muſt be followed by an increaſed price of neceſſaries, &c. and will not leave them the richer.

conſequently the price of home manufactures. And hence it naturally follows, that it not only leſſens and tends to deſtroy, by the operation of this double advantage againſt us, all competition on our part in foreign markets, but may gradually and ſurely, however ſlowly, enable other nations to underſell us in our own market.

Theſe laws ſhould be aboliſhed, and the corn trade left to itſelf; if it be a good one it will ſupport itſelf, if it be a bad one it cannot be abandoned too ſoon, and it were wiſe to employ our capital in a better.

It is inſiſted on, however, with great confidence and loud aſſertion, that the bounty laws have anſwered the object of their inſtitution, and have promoted tillage by opening foreign markets for our corn, and by ſecuring to the farmer a *better price* than he could otherwiſe have in the home market.

Now theſe are preciſely the very arguments againſt the bounty laws. Gentlemen look but to their immediate effects, and not to their conſequent and ſecret workings in all their bearings. That it ſecures a better price no man will deny, but every wiſe man

deplores

deplores the conſequence. For by carrying off the ſuperfluity of abundant years to other nations, it raiſes the price immediately at home, and it leſſens the price abroad, and leaving no ſuperfluity or ſupply to provide for ſucceeding years of ſcarcity it again raiſes the price. But its does *not* promote tillage; the re-action of this increaſed price upon proviſions, manufactures, and labour diſcovers the fallacy of this ſyſtem.

Other men maintain the benefit of the bounty laws with more plauſibility, but with no leſs fallacy, in oppoſing facts to arguments and reaſon. No man can diſpute facts, but there can be groſs errors in reaſoning upon facts with reſpect to their cauſes or effects. Theſe perſons maintain the advantage of the bounty laws, becauſe the average-price of corn has fallen ſince their eſtabliſhment. Now what follows from hence? Why as to the fact, that corn has fallen, I ſay, granted; and as to the cauſe of this, I ſay, denied. But to give theſe gentlemen all the advantage which they deſire, I ſhall for a moment admit the *cauſe* which they aſſign, namely, that *bounties* have *produced*

this

this reduction in the price of corn. Surely then this blundering ſyſtem ſhould be quickly diſſolved, in order that the object of its primitive inſtitution may be gained, which was, to ſecure a better price for corn.

However, the fact is, the price of corn had gradually fallen, (ſee Table M.) until the cauſes of the preſent ſcarcity firſt began to operate.

TABLE M.

PRICE of WHEAT by the Quarter.

YEARS.	PRICE.	VOUCHERS.
	£. s. d.	
1595 - -	2 — —	Adam Smith.
1695 - -	2 13 —	
1774 - -	2 10 3 ½	Lord Sheffield's Tracts on the present high price of provisions.
1781 - -	2 4 — ½	
1785 - -	1 17 11 ½	
1786 - -	1 16 6	
1790 - -	2 11 3	
1791 - -	2 4 11 ½	
1799 - -	3 4 10 ½	

End of Table M.

MOST unqueſtionably however the bounties have not been the cauſe of this reduction. They have contributed, in manifold ſhapes, to raiſe the price, and without them corn had been ſtill lower. The analogy of France proves this, where corn fell at the ſame time, without bounties, and without even exportation being allowed till 1764. And it is maintained by Adam Smith, that the price of grain was owing to neither one regulation nor another, but to the gradual and inſenſible increaſe of ſilver in the markets of Europe. Indeed it is altogether impoſſible, and directly contrary to the nature of things, that bounties could lower the price of grain; and it is equally clear and undeniable, that they muſt raiſe the price of corn, ſuſtenance, and labour. Conſequently this ſyſtem is injurious to agriculture, population, and manufactures.

Let us now conſider the ſecond point relative to our agriculture.

WASTE LANDS.

In times of barbariſm, when it was neceſſary to induce cultivators to continue

their lands in an arable ſtate, a ſufficiency of common was annexed to ſuch arable lands for the ſupport of their cattle, before the uſe of artificial paſtures was known. Thus, when land was not much in demand, through little population and leſs agricultural ſkill, it remained unoccupied, waſte, and in common. But now things are changed, policy demands a change of ſyſtem.

At this day, the incloſure of the waſte lands is a meaſure ſo conſonant with individual benefit, as well as with national policy, that it is a matter of aſtoniſhment and regret how century ſhould elapſe after century without efficient ſteps for that purpoſe. The reſults on the increaſe of agricultural products, on demand for labour, on population, on manufactures, on commerce, on national capital and revenue, and on the diminution of the poors rates *, are ſo obvious, that it is ſhameful ſo much has been thought of colonization abroad and ſo little done for raiſing up new colonies at home, the

* Suppoſed to be equal to half the rental of England.

the real means of adding ſtrength and wealth to a nation. But inſtead of embracing a good, we have clung to an evil; and of what nature and magnitude this evil is, we ſhall now ſee.

The Proportion between the WASTE and CULTIVATED LANDS of Great Britain:

	ACRES.		
	Uncultivated.	Cultivated.	Total Extent.
England and Wales -	7,888,777	39,027,156	46,915,933
Scotland - - - - -	14,218,224	12,151,471	26,369,695
* Total - - -	22,107,000	51,178,627	73,285,628

It is remarked by the country reports to the Board of Agriculture, that the inhabitants

* Mr. Beeke's computation is entitled to great reſpect, and to which, as well as to his proceſs in aſcertaining the extent of Great Britain, I ſhould have paid due attention, had his book reached me before I had reaſoned on the public documents of the Committee of the Houſe, relative to the number and application of the acres of this country. Mr. Beeke ſtates,

England and Wales, at - - - 38½ millions of acres.
Scotland and its iſles, at - - - 21 D° - - - D°
Ireland, at - - - - - - - - 22 D° - - - D°

tants in the neighbourhood of great waſtes, are an *idle* and *lawleſs* ſet of people. Theſe waſtes are the frequent reſort of thieves and depredators on the public; but particularly near the capital they are the receptacles of vice and villainy. Theſe twenty-two millions of acres can be converted to very different purpoſes than what they are now devoted to, as may be ſeen in the following report:

No. of Acres.	USAGE.	Rent *per ann.*
1,000,000	incapable of improvement.	£.
14,000,000	fit for upland paſture, at 5 *s. per ann.* - - - - -	3,500,000
3,000,000	fit for tillage, at 10 *s. per ann.* - - - - - - - -	1,500,000
1,000,000	fit for meadow or water-meadow, £.1. 10 *s.* per acre -	1,500,000
		6,500,000
19,000,000	of acres, if multiplied by 3, will give the annual value of their produce - - - - - - - - - - -	3
		19,500,000
3,000,000	of acres fit for plantation, at 8 *s.* per acre - - - -	1,200,000
22,000,000	of acres of waſte would thus produce - - -	£. 20,700,000

Whereas theſe waſtes are now let in many places for one penny an acre *per annum.* But if they be valued at more than they are worth, 2 *s.* per acre, the produce amounts to but two millions one hundred thouſand pounds, and conſequently the nation loſes,

in their agricultural value, above eighteen millions and an half yearly. So much therefore might be gained by the incloſure of the waſtes, as well as a ſaving on the importation of corn, which was before ſtated at above four millions yearly, or a total of twenty-two millions and a half annually.

This, however, is not all that we ſhould gain by this wiſe meaſure, as might be clearly demonſtrated, by conſidering it in three points of view; firſt, with reſpect to ſociety, next to agricultural concerns, and next to arts and manufactures. I ſhall not at preſent go deeply into all thoſe points, but ſhall merely touch on the ſurface of each.

1. Men are no longer in a barbarous ſtate, without higher occupation than thoſe of hunters or ſhepherds, but in a ſtate of ſociety, where the promotion of arts, manufactures, and commerce, is the promotion of wealth, population, and happineſs. The waſte lands of this country are conſequently not only uſeleſs, but deſtructive to all thoſe principles, inaſmuch as they promote idleneſs in their vicinity, and are dens of thieves and robbers.

It has however been asserted, that the improvement of wastes must depopulate the country. Strange delusion, which takes things for granted that are impossible. Will the increase of food and wages, and all the modes of easy subsistence and health, tend to depopulation? The causes of depopulation are wholly different, and unfortunately not sufficiently considered to-day. The increase of population is inseparable from the increase of agriculture; and both of these insure a good market to the farmer, and better wages and constant employment to the husbandman; consequently industry must succeed to idleness and profligacy. The improvement of the lower orders will also release the upper orders not only from the pain of punishing them; but the expence of supporting them will be diminished.

The advantages resulting to society and population, from the inclosure of the wastes, may be stated further. It will not, I believe, be denied that population depends on the means of support which a country possesses for its inhabitants, and the proper application of it. Since, however,

nearly *one third* of this country is unoccupied and waſte, what follows?

Out of the various computations on the increaſed population of this country, ſuppoſe we fix on the *medium* of an annual augmentation of 100,000 perſons; conſequently, it would require almoſt a century to double the eſtimate of its population, taking it at but ten millions. Whereas in other countries, as America and Ireland, the caſe is wholly different. It is calculated that only twenty-eight years are requiſite to double the population of America, without the acceſſion of foreigners. And in Ireland, notwithſtanding the extraordinary depopulation, by entire families expatriating themſelves, the growth of population keeps a rapid pace. And what is the cauſe of both theſe effects?

Obviouſly this: the produce of the land in each country exceeds the population. Whereas in Great Britain the conſumption exceeds the produce, and conſequently the high price of proviſions chills the confidence of vigorous induſtry, in its own ability to ſupport an infant offspring. Hence a generous

nerous and virtuous paſſion is ſacrificed; the bond of private love and PUBLIC SECURITY is loſt; and ſound morality, and ſound policy, wrecked in their moſt important conſequences.

Beſide that the moral feelings of men, and their domeſtic love of their families and children, are the BEST PLEDGES of PUBLIC SECURITY, let us ſee the addition which it might receive in the augmentation of the phyſical force of the country by this meaſure. I have ſtated before, according to Public Documents, that Great Britain contains about ſeventy-three millions of acres; and as Ireland is larger than Scotland, which is eſtimated here at above twenty-ſix millions, conſequently we may fairly call the whole, according to this ſcale, about one hundred millions of acres. It has been calculated, that one acre might ſupport about three perſons. However, notwithſtanding the natural fertility of Ireland, and the improveable ſtate of both countries, I ſhall take but one-ſixth of this calculation; that is, inſtead of two acres ſupporting ſix perſons, I ſhall ſay, they may ſupport one, conſequently one hundred millions

of acres give *fifty* millions of perſons. Now every fourth man, with reſpect to a whole population, is a fencible man: this would give twelve millions and a half of men to bear arms; but I ſhall take only three-fourths of this number, that is, nine millions, fit to bear arms; and out of theſe nine millions, I ſhall ſay, that only *one million* may be always in arms, without prejudice to agriculture or trade, and to protect the other forty-nine millions in induſtry and peace. Such then are our reſources. We might have a true balance of power in our own hands at home, in our population, our agriculture and trade, and defy the univerſe. God and nature have befriended us much; and unleſs we be enemies to ourſelves, we may be the happieſt, the greateſt, and the ſtrongeſt people in the world.

Now let us conſider the waſtes in an agricultural view, both with reſpect to land and cattle.

2. It has been already ſhewn, that the landed value of this country may be increaſed above eighteen millions *per ann.* by the incloſures. An objection has been, however, ſtarted againſt

againſt this meaſure with reſpect to cattle, which are ſaid to find an excellent nurſery in the waſtes at preſent. If indeed poverty and cold be better than incloſed grounds well ſheltered and well watered, which produce plenty of graſs for the rearing of cattle, the argument holds good. Wiſdom and experience however contradict this reaſoning. Where the right of common is unlimited, the ground is ſo overſtocked, that no large ſized or generous animal can be bred upon it. And where the right is limited, either frauds are committed, or the ſtint is ſo large, that the commons, though under limitation, are of little uſe. Beſides, it appears by experience and facts during nearly a century, that the conſequence of uſing incloſed paſtures, inſtead of waſtes for culture, is really important. In the time of Queen Anne, the ſtock of the kingdom was fed on commons; this however is no longer the caſe, and the reſult may be ſeen in the increaſed ſize of the cattle.

The average *weight* of cattle ſold at Smithfield Market:

	Beef.	Calf.	Sheep.	Lamb.
In 1710—	370 lb.	50 lb.	28 lb.	18 lb.
1796—	800	148	80	50

Beſide, if a cow be ſupported for nothing on a common, and another at the expence of 1 *s.* 6 *d.* per week in an incloſure, the latter, when ſold, will bring a difference of price far beyond the expence incurred for her ſupport; and, in addition to which ſhe has produced, a much greater quantity of milk than the cow on the waſte.

The ſheep fed and paid for in an incloſure affords ſtill a more ſtriking advantage over the ſheep fed for nothing on a waſte; and whether we conſider theſe waſtes in a perſonal or national point of view, this inſtance will prove, that a right of common is of very little advantage in its conſequences, not only

to

to the public but to the individual immediately enjoying it. The liberty of keeping ten ſheep on a common for a whole year, may, in many places, be purchaſed for ſixpence. It is ſuppoſed that ſix acres of this ground are requiſite to maintain that number; conſequently, the rent of ſuch land is only one penny *per* acre; and the price of the fee ſimple of it, at twenty-four years purchaſe, two ſhillings.

Surely while there is an acre of ſuch ground capable of improvement, the attention of the Legiſlature ſhould be *implored* to give new value, opulence, and proſperity to the nation.

Let us now conſider the waſtes with reſpect to manufactures.

3. It will appear, under every relative point of conſideration, that theſe neglected lands are a great loſs and a great injury to the community, and an undoubted prejudice to the individuals who might be ſuppoſed to draw ſome advantage from them. Whereas thoſe grounds, if incloſed, might add millions to the national ſtock, and furniſh the means

of

of occupation and ſupport to millions of additional ſubjects.

Increaſed agriculture and food are always followed by increaſed population, and conſequently by increaſed hands for manufactures; this effect neceſſarily lowers their price, and enables us not only to keep rivals out of our own markets, but to underſell them in their own. This effect is alſo followed by an improvement in the quality of the manufactures, by an improvement in the workman's ſkill, by an increaſe in the demand for his productions, and conſequently by an increaſe in the quantity of manufactures, and the raw materials of which they are formed. And herein appears the widely extending influence of domeſtic improvement.

Moreover, the waſtes whereon the ſheep now dies of the rot, or does not produce an intereſt for the capital laid out in the purchaſe of the animal, will, if incloſed, produce wool, which, by an improvement in quantity and quality, may obtain a million for thoſe landlords who ſhall have expended their caſh on theſe incloſures. But further:

it

it will produce an additional two millions to the farmer who ſhall have bought the ſtock and paid rent for the land: and add to this, that the manufacturer will by his art increaſe the value of the raw material threefold; and thus what is now worth ſcarcely any thing to the community, and a loſs to the individual, might produce *nine* millions *per annum* to both.

In corroboration of theſe arguments, it appears by evidence before the Houſe of Commons (28 April 1800) that the pack of wool ſold for £.5. in 1779, and for £.11, 10*s.* in 1800; ſhould we not immediately remove ſuch a pernicious ſource of ills to the manufacturer, by reducing the price of the raw material through the increaſe of its quantity? But it has been ſaid that the way to increaſe the quantity of wool, is to open the incloſures; for there is not a ſufficiency of wool as heretofore, the ſheep being now ſlaughtered at three and four inſtead of five and ſeven years old. The fallacy of this reaſoning is obvious: for the very fact of the ſheep being ſlaughtered younger, corroborates the document which we have ſeen

before

before of their increaſe in ſize as well as in number; and next, the inſufficiency of wool does not ariſe from a diminiſhed quantity, but from an increaſed demand, and which demand could not have been ſupplied formerly as it is now. In the year 1792 all the wool had been worked up. From that period the manufacture increaſed from £. 1,200,000. to £. 2,000,000. annually; conſequently this increaſed conſumption could not have been ſupplied, unleſs the growth of wool had increaſed. It was not, however, from the importation of Spaniſh wool, which at the higheſt average had not augmented above £. 120,000. annually (or £. 360,000. when worked up.) And in that time, the importation of Iriſh woollen yarn had diminiſhed conſiderably; therefore it admits of no doubt that the growth of Engliſh wool has increaſed. Theſe very facts ſhew the benefit of the incloſures. And the increaſed demand is ſo great, that this manufacture is ſuppoſed to employ at preſent nearly three millions of people *; to engage in buildings and machinery,

* Mr. Stranchliffe's evidence before the Houſe of Commons.—Machinery has ſaved in People employed as 71 ⅓ to 15 ⅓.

chinery, about five millions ſterling; and to produce twenty millions *per ann.* And the ſtill increaſing demand is ſuch, that the ſale could be extended, if wool could be ſupplied*. Should we then, or ſhould we not, ſet about the ſole means whereby we can improve at once both the quality and quantity of our wool†?

By ſuch principles of political œconomy, nations become truly rich and happy. The dazzle of foreign poſſeſſions is beneath domeſtic induſtry and peaceful frugality, which far tranſcend the triumphs of expenſive war, and the richeſt mines of gold. Agriculture, arts, manufactures, induſtry and trade, conſtitute the happineſs of ſubjects, and the ſolid ſecurity of ſovereigns. Their promotion is true policy, and the real intereſts of ſtates.

I have been tempted, by the importance of this point, to dwell longer upon it than I intended;

* Mr. C. Rawdon ſtated before the Houſe, that many orders were returned.

† Where there are incloſures, the ſyſtem of alternate huſbandry would feed, with artificial graſs, twice the number ſupported by imperfect herbage.

I intended; but I truſt its utility, nay, its neceſſity, will plead my excuſe. It is a matter of great national concern, firſt, to behold loſſes, ſo calamitous in their effects with reſpect to manufactures, agriculture, and ſociety. Secondly, great loſſes have been ſuſtained through the drain of bullion*. Thirdly, the revenue has been diminiſhed in the important branches of the diſtilleries †, and manufactures of ſtarch and hair powder. Fourthly, the ſcarcity of grain has increaſed the public expences. Fifthly, the bounties paid on corn were ſums devoted to promote foreign agriculture; the very *intereſt* of which, if

* The ſpecie drawn out of this country for corn imported, amounted to £. 2,400,000. as ſtated before, p. 134. This ſpecie has been ſent out chiefly in guineas (which are intrinſically worth 2*s*. 7*d*. more than a Louis) and not in Louis. About eight millions of ſpecie was brought to this country in conſequence of the French Revolution, and the invaſion of Flanders and Germany. But the Louis were melted down; and even by one houſe, no leſs a number than 70,000 a day.

† Alſo a loſs has been ſuſtained in the pork fed at the diſtilleries; which forms a great article of conſumption amongſt the lower claſſes.

if laid out in defraying the expences of a general Inclosure Act, would have been much more wise, though not yet believed to be deserving of serious consideration. Sixthly, in consequence of scarcity and dearness, additional pay was necessary for the army, under the name of "Bread Money." Seventhly, an additional salary was requisite for men in office, in the various departments. Eighthly, an additional expence was incurred in victualling our fleets and armies. Ninthly, scarcity, and the high price of grain, necessarily occasions a greater consumption of animal food, and thus an increased price of all the various articles of provisions, which is often severely felt by every description; by the low, who pine under misery and want; and by the high, who witness and relieve it. Tenthly, the consequences in our trade and commerce are *incalculable*. Yet all this could be prevented by an additional cultivation of wheat, in the employment of a small part of what is now lying waste and useless. Surely, surely, this neglect is the extreme of folly. Let us re-

flect

flect how Frederic II. gave ſtrength, riches, population, and manufactures to his country? How did his genius *create* his empire, and found it upon a rock of gold? Thus: he devoted, in twenty years, SIX MILLIONS to the *cultivation* of *waſtes*. This promoted agriculture and the arts, increaſed his revenues, population, and trade, *diſcharged all his expences*, and gave importance to his empire. Thus was he enabled not only to ſuſtain an army of 200,000 men, but to fill the royal coffers with TWELVE MILLIONS for his ſucceſſor. The application is obvious.

We have new countries to conquer at home by the plough-ſhare, far ſuperior to thoſe which we have fought by the ſword. We have an iſland of waſte, within an iſland of induſtry; but whatever are the miſchiefs of our waſtes, and bounty laws, they admit of one conſolation, it is that their magnitude marks out the great meaſure of our reſources in their removal. And we are now forced to this by the effects of an already improved ſtate in agriculture, which increaſes population; for agriculture and population ope-

rate

rate as cauſe and effect, mutually promoting each other. And that our agriculture has increaſed, we have the evidence of parliamentary documents: and that our population * has grown with our agriculture, I ſhall now demonſtrate.

* Eleven years ſince (1789) it was reported by the Board of Agriculture, that in order to ſupply the quantity of corn neceſſary for the increaſed population at that moment, 100,000 acres of land more ought to be put under tillage. It has been ſtated through the Bath Agricultural Society, that 160,000 acres of waſte lands would be requiſite; and calculating on an annual increaſe of 100,000 in the numbers of population, which is the generally received eſtimate, a further yearly improvement of 30,000 acres, (or about one acre to three perſons) would be neceſſary.

CHAP. VI.

Progreſs and State of Population in Great Britain and Europe.

IT has been aſſerted, by men of great genius and diſcernment, that there is not now on the face of the earth the fiftieth part of mankind which exiſted in the time of Julius Cæſar *. This however has been ably controverted by Hume, with reſpect to the countries which compoſe the ſcene of ancient hiſtory. And indeed the proof of the populouſneſs of antiquity, which is advanced in the imaginary youth or vigour of the world, will ſcarcely be admitted. Inſtead of examining phyſical cauſes on ſuch a ſubject, our enquiry ſhould be into facts, many of which however are ſo involved in fable, that inſtead of ſerving the purpoſes of philoſophy they ſhould be abandoned to the embelliſhments

* L'Eſprit de Loix, liv. xxiii. cap. 17, 18, 19.

ments of poets and orators. But if phyſical cauſes be admitted as arguments, the diſadvantages will be on the ſide of the ancients: for their governments were factious, their commerce feeble, their police irregular; they had diſeaſes, which are unknown to modern medicine; and they had the three great ſcourges of war, peſtilence, and famine. Whereas modern wars are leſs bloody *, and the two modern ſcourges of the ſmall-pox and venereal complaint, have been diſarmed by medicine.

If we turn to the beſt authenticated facts, we ſhall have complete ſatisfaction on the increaſed population of Great Britain in theſe days, far beyond its numbers in remoter times.

The population of England, on the arrival of the Normans, was computed at above two millions (Lord Chief Juſtice Hale and King) - - - -	2,000,000

In

* Cæſar uſed to boaſt, that there had fallen in battle againſt him 1,192,000 men; beſide thoſe who periſhed in the civil wars. Pliny, lib. vii. c. 25.

In the time of Edw. III. according to a ſubſidy-roll, which furniſhes data for a calculation, the population of England and Wales, was above two millions (Chalmers) - 2,092,378

In the time of Elizabeth, the numbers of fighting men, according to Sir Walter Raleigh, were one million ſeven hundred and ſeventy-two thouſand, which being multiplied by four, give a population of - 4,688,000

In the reign of Charles II. the population of England and Wales was, according to Sir William Petty - - - - - 6,000,000

In the time of the Revolution, the number of inhabited houſes was one million three hundred thouſand, and of families one million three hundred and ſixty thouſand: multiply the houſes by five (though the

true

true eſtimate may be about two-fifths more) and it ſhews the population to be - -	6,500,000
According to calculations made in the time of Queen Anne, there was an increaſe of population; and by the union with Scotland there was an acceſſion of population, ſo that the numbers of fighting men appear to have been in the time of George I. about two millions and fifty thouſand, which multiplied by four, give - -	8,220,000
At the commencement of the American war in 1725, it appears by Mr. Chalmers, that there were in this iſland full two millions three hundred and fifty thouſand fighting men, which multiplied by four, give - - - - - - - - -	9,400,000

The manner of computing population by the returns of houſes at the Tax-office was unfairly followed by Dr. Price. The increaſe of commerce, manufactures, agriculture, and births, tend to corroborate the more accurate concluſions of his antagoniſts.

Mr. Chalmers, multiplying the dwellings in England and Wales 1,586,000 by $5\frac{1}{2}$, ſhews the population of thoſe places to amount to about - - -	8,447,000
If to this number we add the population of Scotland, we ſhall have for the whole iſland above ten millions, or about - - - - - - - -	10,017,000
Mr. Beeke ſtates the extremes of the computation of our population in England and Wales to be, at preſent, nine millions and an half; and ten millions and an half or about eleven millions; and	

the

the population of Great Britain (p. 155, laſt edit.) at above twelve millions and an half - - - - - - - 12,650,500

This gentleman has paid great attention to this ſubject, and is entitled to much credit. I ſhall therefore only ſtate on what grounds I am inclined to take the middle way between thoſe extremes, without pretending to more accuracy than others, in a point ſo difficult *. I am aware of the errors into which all calculators may be led by the returns at the Tax-office. Guarding however againſt them as far as a variety of combinations can direct me, and which are unneceſſary to be detailed here, I am inclined

* Nothing but the enumeration now ordered by Parliament could give complete ſatisfaction on this important ſubject.

clined to ſuppoſe the number of houſes in England and Wales to amount to about 2,022,270, which, multiplied by 5, or the number of perſons in each, give a product of - - - - - - - - -	10,011,350
To this, Scotland is to be added, which, in conformity with Mr. Beeke, I compute at about one ſeventh of the foregoing, or - - - - - -	1,430,143
This gives a total population of	11,441,493

The increaſe of population from the *time of the Normans* to the *Revolution* was four millions and an half; from the Revolution to the preſent time nearly five millions according to the above eſtimate, which is more than a million under Mr. Beeke's eſtimate. *Conſequently, the population of this country has increaſed much more in the laſt century than it had done during above ſix hundred years before.* Such are the effects of induſtry and commerce; and ſo far is the ſtate of the nation improved in its ſtrength.

To

To this population if we add the numbers of Ireland, we ſhall have probably a fair total of FIFTEEN MILLIONS *at the cloſe of the eighteenth century.*

The numbers in Ireland were in 1660, according to Sir William Petty, one million one hundred thouſand. In 1724, according to Dean Swift, one million five hundred thouſand. In the preſent day, they have been eſtimated by ſome at four millions and an half, by Mr. Chalmers at four millions two hundred thouſand, and by others at four millions. I am inclined, however, to take the calculation in this inſtance alſo under theſe eſtimates, and ſtate it at about three millions and an half.

There are 701,102 houſes in Ireland, which might be multiplied by 5½ in the preſent caſe, becauſe the barracks, public offices, hoſpitals, and univerſity, are not included in this enumeration, and becauſe the cottages in the country are populous, and the

houſes

houſes in the city of Dublin are crowded. Conſequently, the numbers will be three millions eight hundred and fifty thouſand, which may be nearly accurate. If this be added to Mr. Beeke's eſtimate of Great Britain, it gives a *population* of the United kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, amounting to above *ſixteen millions and an half* - - - - - 16,500,500

If added to mine, it gives above *fifteen millions and a quarter* - 15,291,493

I have fixed on an under eſtimate, that I might not ſeem to over-rate any object which is connected with the greatly improved ſtate of the kingdom within this century.

However, beſide the evidence of facts as to the number of houſes, as to whole towns having ſprung up in manufacturing counties, and as to a conſiderable increaſe of the number of families in agricultural coun-

ties; if the teſtimony of phyſical cauſes be admitted, the increaſed population will not be denied.

Firſt, the wonderful augmentation in the exports of our manufactures, proves an increaſe of thoſe hands that produced them. Next, the increaſe of agriculture is proved by authentic documents: and as before this increaſe of agriculture we had a ſuperfluity of corn, which enabled us to export to a large amount; and ſince this increaſe we have ſuch a deficiency in the quantity neceſſary for conſumption, that we are now forced to import to a large amount *: conſequently it follows, that our conſumption is increaſed to a degree equal to what we exported formerly and import at preſent, and therefore our population is increaſed.

In the Capital alone, ſuch is the increaſe of population, that in ſixty-two years up to 1795 the cattle conſumed in the metropolis alone had augmented annually in number 32,854

* According to accounts laid before the Houſe of Commons, Nov. 18, 1800, the wheat imported laſt year amounted to above ſix millions and an half ſterling.

32,854 heads, and 203,290 ſheep; and beſide this increaſe in number, they had increaſed in ſize much more than double during the century.

In the pariſh of St. Mary-le-Bone, the improvement has been prodigious. In 1687, the poor rate was charged on 86 perſons; in 1799, on 6,500 perſons. And in the country alſo, where exact parochial enumerations have been made, the population has increaſed one third during the century.

This certainly does not prove the entire ſtate of the nation; but as the ocean is compoſed of drops, and the univerſe of atoms, ſo does the entire ſtate of the nation conſiſt of collected facts.

All ſpeculative inferences on population muſt be admitted with extreme caution; for we find that even the ableſt men of antiquity have been thus led into miſtakes. Thoſe too, who through the humour of praiſing the paſt, blame the preſent, and deliver ſad and ſolemn oracles about the future, muſt be heard with diffidence. For men of the profoundeſt judgment, and moſt extenſive learning, have likewiſe

likewiſe erred in this manner. In remote times, Plutarch did ſo ; and Diodorus Siculus, at the moment which was the moſt populous period of antiquity : Hume did ſo in late times, with reſpect to commerce and the growing proſperity of this nation.

It were not a very difficult taſk to ſhew, by documents of antiquity and modern times, that the population of nations has increaſed. But inſtead of a compariſon of nations with themſelves, in remote and preſent periods, it is of more importance to us, to know the relative ſtate of Great Britain with that of other countries, during our own days.

The Authorities for the following Eſtimates are, Büſching, Crome, Lopez, D'Aranda, Necker, Menelle, Jageman, Helle, Schlözer, and Gatterer.

STATES.	POPULATION.
1. Ruſſian Empire - - -	26,195,000 With Poliſh addition.
2. Auſtrian States in Germany and elſewhere -	27,800,000 With Poliſh addition.
3. France, antient limits -	23,000,000 Diminiſhed by Revolution to 19 millions.
4. Great Britain and Ireland -	15,291,493 According to others 16½ millions.
5. Spain - - - - - - -	10,500,000
6. Pruſſia - - - - - -	9,764,509 With Poliſh addition.
(Poland - - 8,500,000)	
7. Sardinia (Italy) - - -	3,170,000
8. Sweden - - - - -	3,000,000
9. Venetian States (Italy) -	2,600,000

10. United

STATES.	POPULATION.
10. United Netherlands - -	2,500,000
11. Portugal - - - - -	2,360,000
12. Pope's States (Italy) - -	2,230,000
13. Denmark - - - - -	2,200,000
14. Electorates of the Palatinate and of Bavaria, Ger.	2,100,000
15. Swiss States - - - -	2,000,000
16. Electorate of Saxony, Ger.	1,870,000
17. Grand Duchy of Tuscany, Italy - - - - - -	1,000,000
18. Electorate of Brunswick, Germany - - - -	850,000 or 1,000,000
19. Duchy of Wurtemberg, Germany - - - - -	585,000
20. Electorate of Cologne, Ger.	550,000
21. Hesse Cassel, Germany -	450,000
22. Genoa, Italy - - - -	400,000
23. Electorate of Mentz, Ger.	320,000
24. Modena, Italy - - - -	320,000
25. Electorate of Treves, Ger.	305,000
26. Mecklenburgh, Germany -	300,000
27. Hesse Darmstadt, Germany -	300,000
28. Archbishoprick of Saltzburg, Germany - - -	250,000

29. Parma,

STATES.	POPULATION.
29. Parma, Italy - - - - -	250,000
30. Liege, Germany - - - -	200,000
31. Wurzburg, Germany - -	200,000
32. Baaden, Germany - - -	200,000
33. Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, Ger.	185,000
34. Bayreuth Anſpach - - - Belongs to Pruſſia.	185,000
35. Bamberg, Germany - - -	180,000
36. Saxe Gotha, Germany - -	156,000
37. Malta, Italy - - - - -	150,000
38. Naſſau, Germany - - -	130,000
39. Oſnaburg, Germany - -	120,000
40. Lucca, Italy - - - - -	120,000
41. Anhalt, Germany - - -	100,000
42. Schwartzburg, Germany -	100,000
43. Oldenburg, Germany - -	85,000
44. Fulda, Germany - - - -	80,000
45. Lipe Schauenburg, Germany	67,000
46. Zweybrucken, Germany -	65,000
47. Raguſa, Italy - - - - -	56,000

Ottoman

STATES.	POPULATION.
Ottoman empire - - -	49,000,000
namely,	
In Europe - - - - -	8,000,000
Aſia - - - - - -	36,000,000
Africa and Egypt - -	5,000,000
Italy - - - - - - -	16,250,000
German empire - - -	26,000,000
According to Büſching -	25,000,000
According to Crome -	27,401,000
According to Gatterer -	24,000,000

In this enumeration of States according to their population, it appears that Britain holds the fourth place. But in order to eſtimate the poſitive or relative rank of nations, we muſt throw into the balance the whole weight of reſources which belong to nations, whether they be in commerce or in territory, in the eaſt or in the weſt. And

not only ſuch an eſtimate of territory, trade, and population, but their revenues, together with their naval and military power, are to be conſidered. With all theſe in the ſcale, we behold the ſtate of Great Britain decidedly preponderate.

Let us now caſt an eye over its naval and military ſtate.

CHAP. VII.

Progress and State of the Naval Power of Great Britain.

VIEWS of policy and prudence have at different periods made Britain ſtand foremoſt to maintain the balance of power in Europe. Sometimes an imprudent vehemence on one ſide, ſometimes towering ambition on another; and in concurrence with both of theſe, the conſtant and important views of commerce have gradually extended our royal navy, until it is now become the grand reſort on all violations of the European balance. So long as this balance is dear to nations, ſo long ought they wiſh to maintain one great imperative ſanction and controul in juſt hands. The neceſſity of ſuch a controul never perhaps was more manifeſt than in theſe days: the utility of the balance comes down approved by the experience and wiſdom of ages. In antient times, when there was no

confederacy or combination to ſupport a balance of power and reſiſt the Romans, rapid conqueſts crowned their declared ambition. But when the balance of power was obſerved, in conſequence of the advice of Alcibiades to Tiſſaphernes, the date of the Perſian empire was preſerved near a century. Whereas when it was loſt ſight of for a moment, after the firſt appearance of the aſpiring genius of Philip, this neglect brought that lofty edifice to the duſt with a rapidity of which there are few inſtances in the hiſtory of mankind.

An anxiety to preſerve this balance is obviouſly conſiſtent with the common ſenſe of all ages, and the common good of all nations. But I repeat it, that in no period, and in no country more than in Europe at this day, has there been a louder appeal made to the intereſts and judgment of mankind for the preſervation of this balance. And in conformity to its views, it is thought by ſome, that Britain never can, and never ought, to accede to any peace which adds the Netherlands either to the territory or to the power of France.

This

This principle may have been carried to an excefs by Britain in former moments, amidft the ardor of emulation. It has however contributed to create a formidable engine againft our foes, and a bulwark for Britain and her allies. The progreffive augmentation of its royal navy may be fhortly ftated as follows. It forms no uncertain ftandard of the growing ftrength and prefent condition of Great Britain.

	Tons.	Men.
The fleet of Elizabeth, fent againft the Spaniſh armada, 1588 -	31,985	15,272
On the acceffion of William, 1688 - -	101,032	
Two years after the acceffion of Queen Anne, 1704 - -	104,754	41,000
On the acceffion of George II. 1727 -	170,862	
On the acceffion of George III. 1760 -	300,416	
In 1800 - - - -	790,950	120,000

Augmented, during his Majefty's reign, 490,534 tons.

Thus we perceive that the navy has increaſed above its ſtrength, at that glorious epoch of the invincible armada, as from about 31,000 to about 790,000 tons; and it has increaſed within this century, or *ſince* the time of the Revolution, as from 101,000 to 790,000; and it has increaſed ſince the acceſſion of his Majeſty, or in about *forty* years, above 222,000 tons *more* than it had done during nearly *two centuries* before.

Such is its relative ſtate compared with itſelf: now let us ſee its relative ſtate compared with that of France.

It appears by a comparative liſt laid before the Houſe of Commons in 1693, that the Engliſh and French fleets were nearly equal, the difference in the total number being but 16 in favour of the Engliſh. Whereas by the French liſt, and probably an exaggerated one, publiſhed in 1799, their fleet conſiſted of 48 ſhips of the line, and 335 frigates, gallies, ſtore-ſhips, gun-boats, gun-pinnaces, and, in fine, every ſpecies of ſmall warlike craft, which altogether make a total of 383; and at the ſame period our

ſhips of the line, frigates, and ſloops, alone amounted in number to 792. Here we have more than *double* their number, according to appearance; and in reality we have much more, were we to limit their enumeration of veſſels to ſhips of the line, fifties, frigates, and ſloops. But were we to ſtate our whole naval ſtrength, as the French have ſtated their's, which, as we have ſeen, conſiſts of 383 veſſels of war, in like manner our's amounts to 1,002 veſſels, carrying 33,273 guns, and meaſuring 790,950 tons: and it may not be ungrateful to add, that 1,303 prizes have been taken during the war.

Statement of the NAVAL STRENGTH of Great Britain:

	No of Ships.	Guns.	Tonnage.	
In commiſſion - - - -	660	26,766	660,550	
Armed cutters, &c. - -	235	2,195	29,400	
In ordinary, building, repairing - - - - -	103	4,156	97,050	
Total - -	998	33,117	787,000	
Dutch ſhips in the ſervice of Great Britain - -	4	156	3,950	under-rated.
Grand Total - -	1,002	33,273	790,950	
Total of Prizes during the war to December 1800 - - - - - - - - - -			1,303	

We ſhall be furniſhed with a decided proof of the great naval decline of France, by comparing the French navy with itſelf at different periods. Though the armies of Louis XIV. were the aſtoniſhment of all and the terror of many of the nations of Europe, for he kept in pay above 400,000 men, and from the time of Mazarine's death to his own was engaged in a courſe of wars that laſted near thirty years; yet his navy conſiſted at the ſame moment of 110 ſhips of the line, and of 690 ſubordinate ſhips of war, which make a total of 780. Whereas at preſent, according to what is probably an exaggerated account, and wherein every little gunboat and pinnace is included, it appears that the French navy amounts to but 383.

The foregoing detail of the maritime force of Great Britain and France might have been omitted as to any object of compariſon between theſe two powers, at a moment when the navy of Great Britain has proved the broad ſhield of the univerſe; but as it enables us to compare Great Britain with herſelf at diſtant periods, it furniſhes no ſmall ground of ſatisfaction.

Let

Let us now take a ſhort review of the military force, which when added to the preceding account of our naval power, as well as to thoſe of our commerce and opulence which ſupports it, will demonſtrate further the growing ſtrength and proſperity of this nation.

CHAP. VIII.

Progreſs of the Military State of Great Britain.

CHARLES VII. of France firſt eſtabliſhed ſtanding armies in modern times about the year 1440. Henry VII. of England imitated the example of Charles by inſtituting the yeomen of the guard in 1486; and Elizabeth, by inſtituting the band of gentlemen-penſioners in 1590. The foundation of a ſtanding army in England was not laid however till Charles II. raiſed a regiment of foot in 1650, and in 1660 the meaſure was confirmed, by his raiſing the Coldſtream regiment of Guards for his perſon, with another regiment of foot and two troops of horſe.

The ſtanding armies of England gradually increaſed to the beginning of this century, and have ſince been augmented on the occaſions

casions of the Scotch rebellion in 1715, and of all the succeeding wars with France and Spain. For though a reduction of the troops followed peace, yet a number was always retained, so as to increase the establishment beyond its state previous to war.

This measure having been once adopted in the policy of modern states, it now serves to shew the wonderfully increased power and opulence of Great Britain, whose armed force consisted in the year 1800 of above *three hundred thousand men* (325,401). What then has Britain to fear?

We are not blind to the splendid exploits, nor unjust to the military skill and fame acquired by the French in continental wars. We acknowledge their genius and admit their prowess, but we fear neither. Our present state, and the past atchievements of our forefathers, embolden us to defy both. The monuments of British valour come down to us from the time of the crusades, recording amidst the names of heroes the exploits of *Richard Cœur de Lion.* Cressy saw, in 1346, one hundred thousand French yield to Edward and thirty thousand

English.

Engliſh. At Poictiers the Black Prince vanquiſhed, in 1356, an army of French thrice the number of his Britiſh ſoldiers. At the great day of Agincourt, 1415, Henry V. fought ſixty thouſand French with twelve thouſand Engliſh. In 1513, the famous battle of Spurs, wherein Longueville was made priſoner, enabled Henry VIII. to make France tremble even to its capital *. The reign of Anne produced triumphs over France,

* To regain the ancient rights of England, Henry VIII. firſt ſent his herald Clarencieux into France, roughly demanding the dutchies of Normandy, Guienne, Main, and Anjou, and with them the crown of France. He then ſent certain nobles before him, and afterwards followed himſelf to Terouanne, where he raiſed his royal ſtandard of the Red Dragon, and inveſted the town with a ſiege. Hither the emperor Maximilian repaired; and, to the great honour of Henry, entered into his pay, wearing the croſs of St. George with a roſe, the king's badge, as his faithful ſoldier.

Lewis advanced to Amiens with his army, and determined to throw relief into Terouanne. Fontrailles appeared at the head of eight hundred horſemen, each of whom carried a ſack of gunpowder behind him, and two quarters of bacon. With this force he made a ſudden and unexpected irruption into the Engliſh camp, and ſurmounting all reſiſtance advanced to the foſſe of the town, when

France, rivalling in military ſplendor the conquering times of Creſſy and of Agincourt.

when each horſeman threw down his burthen. They immediately returned at the gallop, and were ſo fortunate as to break again through the Engliſh, and to receive little or no loſs in this dangerous attempt.

But the Engliſh had, ſoon after, full revenge for the inſult. Henry had received intelligence of the approach of the French horſe, who had advanced to protect this incurſion of Fontrailles, and he ordered ſome troops to paſs the *Lis* in order to oppoſe them. The cavalry of France conſiſted chiefly of gentlemen, who had behaved with great valour in many deſperate actions in Italy; yet, being overawed by the appearance and conduct of the Engliſh, they took to flight, loſt ſix of their ſtandards, and many of their officers of diſtinction. The *Duke of Longueville*, who commanded the French, was made priſoner by *Sir John Clarke*; upon whom the king conferred the arms of Longueville, to be worn as an honourable addition to his own, and *as a monument and reward of the victory of Spurs* *. This action is ſometimes called the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought on the 16th of Auguſt 1513, in Picardy, but more commonly the *Battle of Spurs*, becauſe the French that day made more uſe of their ſpurs than of their ſwords or military weapons †. Chevalier Bayard, however, after having performed prodigies of valour in the conteſt, finding he could not eſcape, chanced to caſt his eyes on an

* Camden's Remains, and Records of College of Arms, marked Phil. No. 32—15. † Hume.

court. The numerous battles fought and won by Marlborough, though they were of very

an Engliſh officer, who had retired to repoſe himſelf after the fatigues of the day. "Yield," ſaid Bayard, "or you die." The other, imagining that Bayard was ſupported by a body of ſoldiers, aſked the name of his captor. "I am," ſaid he, "the Chevalier Bayard; and now in *my* turn I ſurrender myſelf priſoner to *you*." Soon after Bayard propoſed to leave the Engliſh camp, and return to his friends, a plan which his captor oppoſed unleſs he would pay a ranſom. "And where," ſaid Bayard, "is the ranſom which on *your* ſide *you* owe to me?" This odd diſpute was brought before Henry VIII. who in perſon commanded the Engliſh army, and he adjudged that no ranſom ſhould be paid by either party. (Vie de Bayard.) The French engaged in this diſgraceful combat were all cavalry, and the beſt warriors of the nation: the Duke de Longueville, the Chevalier Bayard, Fayette, &c. &c. (Herbert.)

After ſo conſiderable an advantage, the king, who was at the head of a complete army of fifty thouſand men, might have made incurſions to the gates of Paris, and ſpread confuſion and deſolation every where. Scarcely ever was the French nation * in greater danger, or leſs in a condition to defend itſelf againſt the powerful armies which on every ſide aſſailed or threatened it. Even many of the inhabitants of Paris, who believed themſelves expoſed to the rapacity and violence of the enemy, began to diſlodge, without knowing what place could afford them greater ſecurity and protection.

* Hume.

very little advantage to the intereſts of the nation, were very great additions to its honour. Theſe triumphs, it is true, are paſſed away, and nothing now remains of them but the fame, which though it be empty ſtill continues to be loud, and will never be doomed to ſilence. In 1745, the *Duke of Cumberland*, with ſixty thouſand men, maintained himſelf in an open plain againſt Mareſchal Saxe and one hundred thouſand troops, including a numerous cavalry and artillery: "Let us be ſilent on this point," ſaid Saxe, "we know too well our inability to imitate them." The battle of Dettingen gained by GEORGE II. holds forth to us a no leſs glorious monument. In more modern times, the *Duke of York*, at Landrecies, with ſix thouſand Britiſh troops and an Auſtrian regiment, routed an army of twenty-nine thouſand French, with the loſs of five thouſand men and moſt of their cannon. What too have been the atchievements and gallantry of Sir Sidney Smith? His defence of Acre, and his defeat of Bonaparte, with all his veterans in glory, is almoſt without

out a parallel. Sir Sidney, with a few guns collected from the French flotilla which had been taken, and about ſeven hundred Engliſh troops, together with ſome undiſciplined Turks, defeated fifteen thouſand French, the conquerors of Germany and Italy; and, with about *two hundred* of his brave fellows, this great and gallant man, accompanied by his able ſupporter Sir John Douglas, made a ſortie from Acre againſt *eight thouſand* French, and kept them at bay until their works and mine were deſtroyed, or Acre would have fallen. Many other examples might be enumerated, but theſe are ſufficient to ſhew that neither the paſt nor the preſent times, when we have above three hundred thouſand men in arms, furniſh any ground of apprehenſion with reſpect to France.

If theſe enemies, who threaten the United kingdom, ſhould dare to invade it, they will find our ſtate not to be ſuch as that which has facilitated their conqueſts throughout Europe. Such an attempt, however, is certainly poſſible, becauſe we ſee that no vigilance of commanders, and no numbers of fleets

fleets, can watch even the narrow ſtreights of Gibraltar; for though we call them the key of the Mediterranean, there is no lock for the winds. Neither can we erect a gate nor eſtabliſh a turnpike way on the ſea, by which alone all voyagers muſt paſs. Conſequently, our enemies have all the latitude, which nature has given to men to approach each other's ſhores, to invade the kingdom: but they would not have the leaſt chance of conquering it. With reſpect to Great Britain, its incloſures, canals, and navigation, render it a fortreſs from one end to the other. Let the enemy penetrate far from his ſhips and ſupplies, and the maxims of the Roman muſt ſubdue him without a blow. We have but to follow the precaution, wherein, as Dean Tucker obſerves, Harold failed, that is, to avoid a deciſive engagement. Checked by our light cavalry before, and harraſſed by them behind, falling on their convoys, deſtroying their magazines, and keeping them in perpetual alarm; while annoyed upon their flanks by our infantry poſted behind incloſures, their progreſs would be ſo retarded, their force ſo

weakened, and at the ſame time our own STRENGTH and NUMBERS ſo immenſe, that the enemy muſt retire with loſs and ſhame, or terminate his folly in defeat.

Beſide, according to the doctrine of the balance of power, which is the doctrine of ſelf-intereſt, the ſtates of Europe muſt hold it requiſite, in order to retain their own dominions, and to preſerve the friendſhip of France, that Britain ſhould be ſafe; for by its fall, the remaining power would be able, without contraſt or oppoſition, to execute every purpoſe and undertaking. And herein they would act only in conformity with common wiſdom and common prudence; for it is never to be overlooked, nor ought it ever to be permitted by ſovereigns, that one power ſhould poſſeſs itſelf of ſuch a force as to incapacitate the neighbouring ſtates from defending their rights againſt it. Thus argued, in former times, Polybius on a ſimilar caſe, wherein Hiero, king of Syracuſe, ſent aſſiſtance to the Carthaginians againſt his allies the Romans; and herein, ſays Hume, with reſpect to modern times, the aim of preſent politics is pointed out in expreſs

terms: it is the origin and the object of the balance of power. But happily this United kingdom holds her defence in her own internal ſtrength and reſources.

Let us however for a moment caſt our eye on a ſtatement evidently drawn up, and publiſhed with no little induſtry, by ſome of the diplomatic corps of the preſent government of France.

STATEMENT from a French Paper, which is deemed official, July 1800.

England has ſpent in eight years two hundred millions; the emperor and other continental powers, a milliard of livres and five hundred thouſand men, to reduce France. The reſult of this has been, that Holland, Belgium, the Banks of the Rhine and of the Danube, Switzerland, Piedmont, Lombardy, States of Genoa, Venice, Tuſcany, Papal States, Naples, &c. have paid in contributions, forced loans, requiſitions, &c. more than two milliards to the French armies.

The line of demarcation is an unexampled ſpectacle ſince the conqueſts of the Romans. The French armies have conquered countries equal in power to France herſelf. Let us calculate,

	Men.
Belgium furniſhed 16 millions and 16,000 men to Auſtria; now it can pay or furniſh - - - - -	32,000
Holland pays - - - - - - -	25,000
She can furniſh in auxiliaries -	25,000
The left bank of the Rhine can pay or maintain at leaſt - -	38,000
Carried forward -	120,000

	Men.
Brought forward -	120,000
The conquered country on the right Bank of the Rhine, from Duſſeldorf to Ratiſbon, and from Straſburg to the Banks of the Rhine, can pay and ſupport at leaſt - - - - - - - - -	150,000
Switzerland - - - - - - -	118,000
Savoy and county of Nice - -	10,000
Piedmont - - - - - - - -	20,000
Ciſalpine republic can take into pay	20,000
It can furniſh - - - - - -	20,000
Republic of Genoa and Lucca can pay - - - - - - - - -	10,000
Total - -	268,000
Which the countries conquered by France, up to June 1800, can pay or furniſh.	
France without effort can pay -	232,000
Total - -	500,000

This number the French republic can maintain till a continental peace, and on the ſuppoſition that ſhe ſhall keep up an

army on the actual line from Groningen to Bamberg, and from Ratisbon to Bologna and Lucca.

I shall leave all comments on this paper to the reader's own judgment, and will only observe, that notwithstanding all these self-arranged props to bear off the weight, France can support only 232,000 men, and till a continental peace. Such at least is her own representation in a display of victorious conquest and power.

Without any further attention to the preceding paper, I shall give a comparative view of the principal States of Europe. But with respect to the navies of some of the powers, I hold it right to mention, that I anxiously sought, though I have not yet succeeded in obtaining, those communications which approach to official accuracy. My authorities at present, however, are the latest Statistical writers on the continent.

A COM-

A COMPARATIVE VIEW of the PRINCIPAL STATES of EUROPE.

STATES.	SIZE, according to square miles.	POPULATION.	REVENUES.	MILITARY.	NAVY.
Great Britain and Ireland.	124,000: 21,500,000 acres, according to Mr. Beeke. Nearly 100,000,000, according to Parliamentary documents.	11,000,000. According to others, 16,000,000 and 18,500,000.	£ 18,000,000. When Great Britain shall regain her own, but will reduce as soon.	30,000. Two thousand less in the year 1800.	70 Exclusive of gun-boats, &c.
Russia - -	4,814,000. 1,200 Polish additions 6,089 square Polish leagues.	25,000,000. 8,150,000 late Polish addition.	7,000,000 rubles. 3,000,000 late Pol. addit.	500,000.	80 Ships of the line in England, 40 in France. A late statement not necessarily an augmentation.
Austria - -	174,000. 5,876 sq. P. l. Pol. addition.	19,000,000. 3,778,000 Polish addition.	10,454,545. 2,000,000 Polish addition.	300,000.	
France - -	148,340.	19,000,000. Before the Revolution, 23,000,000.	19,800,000. May 1789. In 1797, 8,400,000. Total, 100 of property included, 15,000,000.	215,479. Buonaparte was authorised to augment according to French statements, 450,000.	56. Including gun-boats and all smaller craft, according to French accounts.
Spain - -	148,400.	10,500,000.	14,000,000.	103,437.	72 of the line, 56 frigates. The Spaniards have lately made great exertions, and though much damaged in the engagement of Cape St. Vincent, proved themselves, when supported with a superior force,
Prussia -	56,414. 4,288 l. P. l. Pol. addition.	5,823,000. 3,760,000 Polish addition.	3,000,000 8,000,000 Polish addition.	201,432.	
United Netherlands - -	10,000.	2,500,000.	2,000,000.	35,000.	32 Ships of the line and frigates, &c.
Portugal -	27,280.	2,300,000.	2,083,333.	30,000.	18 Ships, 12 frigates.
Sweden -	208,312.	3,000,000.	1,500,000.	40,000.	20 Ships, 20 frigates.
Denmark -	182,400.	2,100,000.	1,750,000.	38,000.	15 Ships.

Were we to compare our ability with that of France, it would appear thus:

The French ſtate exceeds the Britiſh empire in Europe more than one-third in *territory*, and in *population* as about 19 to 15 or 16. But the *naval power* of France may be taken, according to the ſtrength of rates and guns, at a far inferior degree than what it appears to be, even in the great diſproportion of *numbers*, with reſpect to the Britiſh navy. The *military force* of Great Britain is 325,401 men; that of France probably equal to it. And after a long and expenſive war, after having enabled by her treaſures the great and ſmall powers of Europe to maintain their ground in this conteſt, the *revenues*, which Great Britain is now able to contribute for the preſervation of our freedom and property, without oppreſſion to the people, and with proſperity to commerce, amount to £.56,768,701. annually. Whereas after levying contributions, confiſcations, and requiſitions, and after a loſs ſuſtained by individuals and nations, to the amount

amount of about *one thouſand ſeven hundred millions* * ſterling, France is notwithſtanding unable to ſupport herſelf. She ſtill adheres to the ſyſtem of contributions, having levied new ſums in the good old way during the campaign of 1800, becauſe her own finances were in poverty †. This is the beſt apology I can make for ſuch conduct.

And that this apology is not without foundation, will appear from the beſt authorities on this point, namely, the French themſelves. That we may have therefore before us the ſtate of France, at the cloſe of the eighteenth century, in an unqueſtionable ſhape, I ſhall give it untouched and unvarniſhed, preciſely as it came from the hands of the greateſt maſters in France.

The firſt, is a picture laid before the Council of Elders, by the repreſentative Moreau de l'Yonne, previous to the Conſular Government, on the 11th of September, 1799. I ſhall limit myſelf to ſuch extracts from the following papers as relate ſolely to our purpoſe.

Moreau

* See Table of Confiſcations made up only to the end of the year 1797, in the foregoing pages.

† See Annual Revenues of France, page 199.

Moreau obſerved, "the Batavian fleet has been ſurrendered to the Engliſh—the United Departments menaced with loſs of liberty—the inhabitants of the interior, victims of civil war—the workmen of every claſs, and the labourers, without employ—the banks ſhut up, and commerce ſuſpended—the taxes unproductive—diſcord prevalent in the cities and departments of the Republic—we ſhall live diſhonoured—our children ſhall live in a ſtate of horrible ſlavery—becauſe their parents were unable to preſerve that liberty on which they *ſeemed* to place ſuch reliance."

The next is, General Jourdan's opinion on the war of France. "As to war, it is an object of calculation for the ambitious, a ſource of riches for the rapacious, and of miſery for the people. As to the rulers of France, from the banks of the Rhine, the borders of the Danube, the rocks of Switzerland, and the plains of Naples, the blood of thouſands call down upon their guilty heads the deteſtation of the earth and the juſtice of heaven."

The

The next ſtatement, is one made by the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, wherein the expences and receipts are laid before them, with the amount of a ſmall deficit: "And they are prayed to fill up this void to prevent the ANNIHILATION of public credit."

This is followed by a repreſentation of Bonaparte's on the like queſtion of finance. The bankers and principal merchants aſſembled at the Firſt Conſul's, and "he aſſured them that the *reign* of *robbers* and *plunderers* was no more, and that thoſe who had property ſhould *no longer* be deſpoiled by thoſe who had none. He aſſured them that *intrigue* ſhould no longer *ſupply* the *place* of *talent* and *learning*." (5th Frimaire, 25 November, 1799.)

The next view of the ſtate of France is contained in the ſpeech of Cabanis on the revolution, the 10th November, 1799, at St. Cloud.

"Shall we wait till the *ſanguinary horde*, which we have already vanquiſhed, reſumes its horrible power to make us offerings ſo worthy of it, to re-eſtabliſh the maximum,

requiſitions,

requiſitions, *tribunals*, and *revolutionary committees*, and the placing of citizens *out of the law*. Wretches, they have often ſullied the name of the republic. *That name* preſents to the *deſpairing* citizens only an *aſſemblage* of PLUNDERERS who *live* by PROSCRIPTIONS, SEQUESTRATIONS, CONFISCATIONS, BANKRUPTCIES, and ASSASSINATIONS. The ſyſtem they call REPUBLICAN, which they offer to a *credulous* and *ſeduced* multitude as a ſource of *happineſs*, what *has* it produced *ſince it exiſted?* Troubles, proſcriptions, inſtability, the *ruin* of *commerce*, the *annihilation* of *agriculture*, the *deſtruction* of our *navy*, and the MISERY of the PEOPLE. Such *are* the *benefits* of their republic."

To complete this picture I ſhall only add the words of Barrere, one of the firſt great levers of revolution, in his letter to Bonaparte—" May the UNFORTUNATE author of this letter obtain your powerful intereſt. Born without any ambition in myſelf, misfortune has taught me moſt ſtrongly to court obſcurity and eaſe." And he calls upon Bonaparte " to eſtabliſh a conſtitution which

which will deſtroy the DEPRAVITY of REPUBLICAN *manners*, and *ſecure property.*"

To theſe ſtatements of the condition of France I ſhall add no comment whatever, but ſhall leave the reader to compare it with the condition of Great Britain at the cloſe of the 18th century. The authorities on which theſe ſtatements reſt cannot be doubted, being public documents or repreſentations from the Council; from the Directory; and from the Conſul: and in the next place from two conſpicuous agents employed in the revolution, one partly as its head, the other partly as its hand.

Let us now caſt our eyes on the ſtate of the friends of the French Republic. Switzerland, that country of wonders, whoſe rocks ſeemed heretofore to have formed a ſublime barrier againſt the inroads of corruption, which preſented to us antient men in modern times, what does it offer now to our view? A ſcene of barbarous diſorder, horrors, miſery and oppreſſion. And if we look to the ſtate of Spain, its fleet is deſtroyed by us, or in the poſſeſſion of France; its chief iſlands are vanquiſhed by

by us, or in the poſſeſſion of France; its commerce is annihilated, and its South American power undermined. But as to Holland, its commerce is no more; its fleet is our's, and its ſettlements under our ſubjection.

Such then is the condition of France and its friends; ſuch the loſſes of Europe; and ſuch the ſtate of Britain, with ſtrength beyond competition, with opulence beyond example, and with reſources growing beyond her neceſſities, amidſt new worlds of commerce.

And here I may with propriety ſtate the words of Lucien Bonaparte *: "The firſt ornament of national feſtivals for a free people is the ſpectacle of their *ſtill increaſing proſperity*. Retrace the ſtate of other empires and compare it with that of France, which falſe† reports painted as exhauſted. Look to Germany, one of its fineſt provinces become an integral part of our empire,

* Speech delivered in the Temple of Mars on the 23d September, 1800, being the anniverſary of the Republic.

† The reader has ſeen theſe reports and by whom made.

pire, its princes fugitives, its generals divided, its circles invaded, and supporting our victorious armies. Italy has *five* times changed the government of its masters. Shall the situation of England be opposed to you? Yes, ENGLAND ALONE, in the midst of UNIVERSAL RUIN, boasts of being defended *by the ocean and the winds* * : The cabinet is proud of its gold."

Here indeed an important consideration arises, and which has engaged the minds of many men, with respect to our unexampled opulence and growing commerce. Moralists and poets have attributed to riches the first causes of corruption and the final overthrow of states. This certainly is a formidable suggestion, did it not contain a fallacy. Even Mr. Hume's reasonings have been contradicted by experience: and happily there exists a strong and consolatory exception to all the facts and declamations upon which this erroneous opinion has been founded. Were it otherwise, the growing prosperity of Great Britain is but another name for its destruction: because in

* Instead of this, he might have said, more properly, *by its moral and civil government.*

in the actual ſtate of things it is an utter impoſſibility to maintain or to extend the proſperity of a people, without preſerving and multiplying the public riches. It has notwithſtanding been obſerved that the augmentation of riches has been followed by the decline of ſtates. This is the point to be conſidered.

There is not a political or moral effect which does not reſult from a concurrence of cauſes. Some men, however, are ignorant of this dependence, and others do not comprehend the ſecret action of things. Limiting their obſervation to the laſt and moſt immediate cauſe, which is always the moſt apparent, they attribute all conſequences to this, and are often ſurpriſed to ſee the littleneſs of the means and the greatneſs of the effect*. Hence ſimple facts ſeem prodigies,

* A ſingle grain, by deſtroying the equilibrium between two maſſes of an enormous weight, ſets them both in motion. But the ſingle grain would not have produced this effect without the action of the maſs to which it is joined. It is only however the action of the grain that ſtrikes the vulgar eye: that of the gravity of the entire maſs is unknown to the common obſerver.

digies, and the calculations of the wiſe man impoſſibilities to the weak one. It was on this account that former people in their barbarous ignorance raiſed altars to ſome men as gods, and burned others at the ſtake as devils.

Were we to conſider how riches have tended to deſtroy ſtates, we ſhould find by the application of hiſtorical facts, during ages, to our own caſe, that the opulence of Britain is really the ſtandard of its proſperity, and not the meaſure whereby we are to eſtimate the proximity of its downfal *.

Without

* It is well known that the downfal of Britain was predicted, when its debt ſhould amount to a ſum, which it has long ſince ſurpaſſed, and ſtill proſpers. Theſe ſpeculators looked at the bulk of debt, but never conſidered the growing maſs of reſources. Mr. Hume alſo has erred, arguing on a wrong principle by analogy. We have ſeen that he ſays, all things impede themſelves by their enormous greatneſs, and checking their own movements finally ceaſe. It has been alſo aſſerted by late writers, that governments are deſtined to diſſolution like other bodies. Now the fallacy of ſuch reaſoning is, that moral combinations are miſtaken for phyſical nature. Matter may certainly be too bulky for motion, and its

Without recurring however to a long detail of hiſtorical evidence, which would lead us too far, it may be briefly obſerved, that there is nothing intrinſically good or bad in the nature of riches themſelves. All the evil lies in their acquiſition and application. According to theſe two operations, they are a bleſſing or a curſe. If the mode of obtaining or uſing them tends to corrupt public manners, then that mode is the cauſe which, by rendering riches the object or the means of corruption, deſtroys nations. But if the mode of obtaining or applying them be induſtry and frugality, whence independence and happineſs always ariſe, then the growing opulence and proſperity of a nation are but its growing ſtrength, content, and ſtability.

We

its ſize impede its application to common operations; and phyſical nature muſt alſo periſh by action, notwithſtanding the theory of Condorcet, becauſe we cannot renovate worn organs, or infuſe into them new principles of life. But in all moral combinations the caſe is wholly different: for we can apply a remedy againſt approaching ruin, and renovate old ſtrength by infuſing new and vigorous powers of exiſtence, into the moral conſtitution under every poſſible complaint.

We have indeed convincing proofs before us that neither extent of territory, greatneſs of population, nor war, alone determine longer the ſuperior force of nations. The balance of power now depends on commerce as well as upon war. Princes or people may break Europe into unequal portions; and politicians may combine leagues and fling treaties into the ſcale to reſtore the equilibrium deſtroyed by the ſhock of revolutions. But it is induſtry and commerce which eſtabliſh and ſecure the rights of people, and enforce the laws of nature. Hence, we behold to day the land in ſubjection to the ſea. The baſis of this wiſe ſyſtem of human power becomes conſequently the primary object of national care; and therefore commercial as well as agricultural economy are the indiſpenſible ſtudy of a ſtateſman. The effects of theſe ſyſtems of political economy, are flouriſhing and multiplied manufactures, happineſs to individuals, ſtrength unto nations, bleſſings and augmented enjoyments to all mankind. Why has not Britain felt the bloody ſcourge of revolution to day? Why has ſhe not

been torn by the iron hand of rapacious tyranny? Why have not her females been violated and her ſons maſſacred? Why, amidſt the univerſal conflagration of revolution and rebellion, does ſhe ſtand as if angels had charge over her in all her ways? Becauſe under the bleſſings of a ſound ſyſtem of religion and government, her people are truly free: And commerce firſt gave her that freedom, and now gives her happineſs. It raiſed the lower claſſes from civil abjection, it brought down the high from feudal tyranny, it fixed both on that point of political morality, whence Britain has riſen to a proud pinnacle, and whereon ſhe ſtands the wonder and the admiration of an applauding though an envious world.

Is it ſurpriſing then that commerce ſhould be now adopted or aimed at in the ſyſtems of great nations, when they contemplate the rapid progreſs of Great Britain, from the time of its ſolid eſtabliſhment in this country under the Houſe of Hanover? To Drake and Rawleigh however a tribute is due for our ſteps towards rank in the com-

mercial world. And with reſpect to the act of navigation, we ſhall not by any inveſtigation leſſen its claims; it was by this act that the foundation was laid for the great advantages of colonial commerce. Every eulogy to every preparatory ſtep for the ſucceſs of commerce, from the date of our Gothic conſtitution downwards, muſt be admitted. But upon theſe proofs, which are drawn from incontrovertible documents of ſtate, it muſt be alſo admitted, that it is only ſince the Revolution, the regular ſyſtem of commerce began to dawn, and that it is only under the Houſe of Hanover it has unfolded itſelf, grown and triumphed *, In the ſame documents ſtands an unequivocal and deciſive refutation of falſe facts and falſe conſequences as to the ruin of Britain.

Theſe pages, I truſt, hold up a true and more grateful picture to the Britiſh eye. It is

* By the 8 Geo. I. c. 15, near two hundred taxes on raw materials imported, and on Britiſh manufactures exported, were taken off.

is indeed a ſublime object of contemplation for the ſage and politician of every nation to trace the hiſtory and progreſs of the induſtry, freedom, happineſs, wealth and proſperity of a great people. And ſurely in theſe documents, which are given here with accuracy, may be found a corrective to the hopes of vicious philoſophy, and a light to the gloomy fears of viſionary prophecy. It muſt appear alſo according to theſe documents, that our anceſtors enjoyed not an happier ſtate than we do. Feudal barbariſm plundered mankind and enſlaved them by the ſword: commerce now enriches mankind and makes them free by virtuous induſtry. If we look around, we behold that by war alone the conqueror is rendered as unhappy as the conquered: they exchange but blood for blood and wounds for wounds. Whereas by commerce; the conquering people muſt introduce induſtry into a country, with its virtues and inevitable conſequences; which country they would not have conquered, had induſtry been there; and which country

they cannot keep, if induſtry be not eſtabliſhed in it. The ſtains upon the bloody ſwords of conquerors are thus wiped off by commerce. It converts riches into a bleſſing, which would otherwiſe be a curſe; it forms them into an inſtrument of public morality and ſtrength, inſtead of being the miniſters of vice and downfal. Whether we view commerce in peace or war, it is the great ſource of private happineſs and public power. And whether we compare Britain with itſelf or with other nations, in diſtant and different periods, we perceive it now diſtinguiſhed by ſuperior bleſſings.

The ſtate of Great Britain having been viewed through the medium of detail, in the preceding pages, there remains a more brief and no leſs ſatisfactory mode to eſtimate its condition. All the parts may be generaliſed into four heads, by which, as an unerring ſtandard, we may try the merits of all * governments, and judge upon the ſtate of all nations,

* This was ably applied by Lord Hawkeſbury, during the late ſeſſion, in his ſpeech on the union.

nations. Theſe four are, 1. Civil Liberty: 2. Internal Order: 3. Proſperity: 4. Power.

1. With reſpect to *Civil Liberty*, if it be examined in its ſource or viewed in its reſults, that is, either in our conſtitution or in the protection of our lives, liberties and property; neither Rome in all its pride, nor Greece in all its glory, inveſted its citizens with ſuch rights as a ſubject of Britain may at this day boaſt. The proudeſt and moſt powerful dare not, becauſe he cannot with impunity, injure a ſingle hair of the pooreſt and moſt weak man's head. And as to modern republics, they muſt not be named in the compariſon: all have imitated but none have equalled even the two boaſted models of antiquity.

2. Our *Internal Order* is founded upon ſuch a baſis of religious and civil government, that it has felt but a ſlight influence of that ſhock which ſhaking nations to the center, has overturned ſtates, and pervaded the globe. This moral ſtrength demonſtrates our ſuperiority over nations in religion and

government: the virtues of Britain having remained ſound and incorrupt at a moment of awful and contagious vice.

3. The *Proſperity* of Great Britain is beyond the bounds of parallel; and almoſt of credibility, were it not for theſe documents of ſtate whereby I have ſhewn its growth in ſtrength and opulence to be incontrovertible. No enthuſiaſt, even in his imaginary proſpects, could have ſurpaſſed, none has kept pace with its real progreſs.

I have ſtated that the great baſis of our commerce and national opulence, was eſtabliſhed under the Houſe of Hanover. The following facts will demonſtrate this, by documents of our aſtoniſhing proſperity ſince the acceſſion.

	£.
In 1713, the imports and exports amounted to - -	13,163,732
In 1800, they amounted to -	95,543,397

In reality they amounted to above 104 millions; there being 10 per cent. always deducted

deducted as an allowance made to the merchants.

In the time of William, the nation could with difficulty raise four millions *per ann.* and even the sale of forfeited lands in Ireland was proposed to procure this sum.

In the time of Anne, the average of the supplies was somewhat about five millions.

In 1800, the gross produce of our revenues, without the loan, amounts to £. 38,853,024. and including the loan to £. 56,768,701.

Thus, under the House of Hanover, our commerce has increased above 82 millions *per ann.* And the faculty, or increased opulence of the nation, appears in an augmentation of revenue to the amount of above 51 millions *per ann.* Nor can this increase of revenue seem surprising, when it is known that the external commerce increasing to the amount of 82 millions *per ann.* it follows that the internal trade of the nation increases to the amount of 191 millions *per ann.* which is one and a third more. Thus,

since

ſince the acceſſion of George I. trade and commerce have increaſed 273 MILLIONS *per ann.*

But if we conſider trade, commerce, and revenues, we ſhall find that in the time of William, thoſe three branches collectively, produced about 27 millions *per ann.*

On the acceſſion of George I. 48 millions *per ann.*

And *now*, they produce 389 * MILLIONS *per ann.*

——SUCH is the improved wealth of this nation under the Houſe of Hanover.

Another unerring proof of the progreſs of this nation, is contained in the ſtate of the Coinage.

	£.
The total coinage for a century from 1558 to 1659, amounted to - - - -	19,832,476

The

* Our external commerce may be ſtated at - 100 millions.
Our internal trade conſequently at - - 233
Groſs revenue, including loan - - - 56
Total - - 389 millions.

	£.
The total coinage in the time of William, and including a re-coinage, amounted to -	10,511,963
In the time of Anne - - -	2,691,626
George I. - - - - - - -	8,725,921
George II. - - - - - - -	11,966,576
George III. to the 18th March, 1797 - - - £. 57,338,036	
There was coined	
To Michaelmas 1797 - 2,000,000	
To Michaelmas 1798 - 2,967,594	
To Michaelmas 1799 - 449,961	
To November 1800 - 189,237	
Total, including the firſt quarter of March 1797, which was before ſtated, but the exact ſum not being aſcertained, it cannot be deducted - - - - - -	62,945,125
Total coinage from 1659 to 1784 (about 125 years) -	77,247,102
Total coinage ſince the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover (86 years) - - -	83,637,622
Total coinage during his Majeſty's reign (40 years) -	62,945,125

4. As

4. As to our *Power:* Howe, St. Vincent *, Nelſon, Duncan, theſe are our glorious evidences, whoſe laurels, more immortal than what even poets feigned or heroes hoped for, are the records of Britiſh power and triumph. Nelſon has formed the ſeven mouthed Nile into an herald of Britiſh glory, which ſhall tell ages yet to come that, *when he fought, Britain was invincible.*

Theſe are the CREDENDA of the ſtate of Great Britain: its Power, its Proſperity, its Internal Order, its Civil Liberty. And if we go further into detail, its growing commerce, national capital, and finances; its extended agriculture, population, and military force; its increaſed and ſtill increaſing ſtrength and opulence: all prove its reſources to be more than adequate to its neceſſities.

So proud and ſo wiſe a period, no nation could ever boaſt of. And, it may now be

* To Lord St. Vincent, this nation ſtands indebted not only for the glory and advantages of victory, but for what is much more, the ſalvation of its navy in the moſt perilous moment of its exiſtence.

repeated

repeated with great confidence after Mr. Hume, that there is not another inſtance in the whole hiſtory of mankind, that ſo many millions of people have, during ſuch a ſpace of time, been held together, in a manner ſo free, ſo rational, and ſo ſuitable to the dignity of human nature. Since the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, harmony has reigned between the ſovereign and the ſubject. Public liberty, with internal peace, has flouriſhed almoſt without interruption: trade and manufactures and agriculture have increaſed: the arts and ſciences and philoſphy have been cultivated: even religious parties have been neceſſitated to lay aſide their mutual rancour: and the glory of the nation has ſpread itſelf all over Europe, with our progreſs in the arts of peace, and our valour and ſucceſs in war.

Theſe are the reſults of our national economy in all its parts, ſince the ſettlement in the Houſe of Hanover has taken place. Called by the united voice of the legiſlature, the princes of that family have, without intrigue, without cabal, without ſolicitation

on

on their part, mounted the throne of Great Britain. Since their acceſſion, they have diſplayed mildneſs, equity, regard to the laws and conſtitution. And what a reproach muſt we have become amongſt nations and to poſterity, if amidſt conditions ſo religiouſly obſerved, and conſequences ſo glorious and unparalleled in the *ſtate of any nation*, we had thrown every thing into confuſion; and by folly and revolutionary vice, proved ourſelves fit only for republican ſlavery and abſolute ſubjection.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

HIGH PRICE OF PROVISIONS;

POINTING OUT

THE CAUSES AND THE REMEDY.

APPENDIX, &c.

THE dearneſs of proviſions marks no decline in nations, nor is cheapneſs any proof of proſperity. The very reverſe is in general the truth: for in all European nations at this day, as well as in former times, a poor people and a cheap produce are inſeparable companions. It is a great object therefore of ſound policy in nations, and chiefly in commercial nations, to take care, that the price of the firſt articles of neceſſity be at ſuch a rate as may promote induſtry, but not check the growth of manufactures.

It may perhaps appear ſtrange to ſome men, if I advance that our *unparalleled proſperity* is one cauſe of the high price of proviſions: but I ſhall make this matter clear, when I have ſhewn the primary cauſes of

this high price, namely, a real deficiency of corn, and an increase of population.

Since the Revolution of 1688, there have been 2,837,000 acres of land inclosed: and out of these, 2,804,000 during his present Majesty's reign. Since the year 1788 no less than 608 acts of inclosure have passed; and out of these, 470 since war commenced. These facts prove the increase of agriculture, and consequently we may fairly infer from hence an increased supply of corn.

The amount of an *exportation*, that our own deficiency of corn has made us abandon since 1765; and the expences of an *importation*, that the same deficiency had made us adopt previous to the last year, form collectively an *annual total* of £. 4,007,835.— But the amount of the *imports alone*, from the 26th September 1799 to the 26th September 1800, is above 6 millions and an half (£. 6,509,378 14*s.*) according to the accounts printed by order of the House of Commons the 8th November 1800. These facts likewise prove an increased supply of corn.

It

It follows therefore, on the foregoing grounds of increased supplies from abroad and at home, that a deficiency in the produce of corn, adequate to our necessity, has long and *really* existed in this country: and it is obvious, that notwithstanding these increased supplies from abroad and at home, this deficiency not only still exists, but has augmented: consequently, it is clear that the consumption, that is, in other words, the population, has augmented far beyond general supposition.

Having now before us these two undeniable facts, established on such proofs as preclude the necessity of stating numerous others that I have already brought forward, with respect to the increase of population, and to the inadequate growth of corn in this country for its consumption, which must eventually ruin all commerce by raising the price of manufactures; the important question that follows is, what is the remedy for these evils? the reply is obvious: increase the supply by the increase of agriculture, that is, *inclose the waste lands!*

Secondly: Seeing that we have an increas-

ed population, and an inadequate growth of corn, it follows, as when we have an inſufficiency of any article in the market which is wanted by all, and the purchaſers of which are augmenting daily, the price muſt unavoidably be raiſed. Therefore, incloſe the waſtes!

Thirdly: We have increaſed opulence almoſt beyond credibility. And here the abundant quantity of money cauſes a depreciation in its value, as the ſcanty quantity of corn cauſes an increaſe in its value. From this double operation alſo ariſes the high price of proviſions. Add to this, that not only increaſed population is, in other terms, increaſed conſumption, but increaſed opulence is increaſed conſumption, which adds the waſte of luxury to the wants of neceſſity, and diffuſes likewiſe the means of indulgence by its rotations through all claſſes of ſociety. The ſupply of corn, however, like any other article for the market, ſhould be proportionate to the number and to the opulence of the purchaſers. It is indeed extreme folly to ſupport the markets of foreigners, by purchaſing from them what we

can so advantageously supply ourselves with. And above all, why neglect the production of so beneficial and so widely important an article as corn: the price of which forms the standard whereby the purchase of every other article is regulated. Surely then, in order to reduce the price of all these, we should inclose the wastes.

I have stated the increased supplies of corn, in order to prove its growing deficiency: and the consequence of that growing deficiency, namely, increased price. Now, in order to prove the other cause of its increased price, namely, the depreciation of the value of money by our prosperity, I must shew that prosperity in the increase of our opulence. This will appear plainly, by a comparative view of the faculty of the nation, in the amount of our external commerce, internal trade, and revenue. These three branches amounted, about the beginning of the century, to 27 millions. And now they amount to 389 millions.

Fourthly: The result of our numerous and expensive wars, during the century, in a consequently accumulated debt is, in-

creaſed taxation. Some men, however, will not relinquiſh indulgences, and all men muſt and ought to have neceſſaries. In order therefore to ſatisfy both theſe purpoſes, as well as to meet the increaſe of taxes, every *additional* impoſt, and ſomething *more*, is laid upon the commodities which they produce or trade in. This ſoon affects the whole ſyſtem of trade, in all its articles, and conſequently the firſt great neceſſaries of life. For, as thoſe who deal in land and its products muſt pay more for what they purchaſe, they muſt of courſe get more for what they ſell. But how is this to be prevented? by reducing the prices of what the farmers buy. For, increaſe* the quantity of the articles which farmers ſell, by incloſures of the waſtes, and this increaſe of the firſt articles of ſubſiſtence and manufactures, namely, of corn, butter, milk, vegetables, wool, and ſize and number of cattle, will reduce their price, and enable the manufacturer and tradeſman to reduce the price of his commodities in return.

By

* See Account of the quantity of proviſions imported. Table N. page 239.

By the action and re-action of this single measure, that is, the reduction of the prices of the first articles of necessity and trade, all classes may be enabled to meet increased taxation. And not only this single and great advantage will follow, but by such abundant supplies, which will give us cheap provisions, and cheap manufactures for our home and foreign markets, we shall save from sure * though perhaps slow destruction,

* In some of our great manufacturing establishments, there is a scale of proportion observed between the state of wages and the state of trade. In Lancashire, however, the principal manufacturers at this moment, are induced, by the dearness of provisions, to give wages beyond this scale. The consequence must be, that either the price of the manufacture must be raised, which will hurt the sale of the manufacture; or the manufacturers with small capitals be ruined. The latter must, perhaps, be unfortunately the case; for they find that they cannot raise the price of their commodities; and the manufacturers possessing even the largest capitals, can with difficulty reimburse their expences, under the present pressure from the high price of provisions.

I am well informed, that in the small town of Blackburne, and I state it as a fact fit for public notice on account of the exemplary humanity of those few gentlemen concerned in the manufactories of that place, they pay £. 800 per week to their workmen, above the scale of proportion between wages and the present state of trade.

tion, our commerce and navigation, consequently our freedom and property, and all the blessings of old England.

But in order to meet the preceding causes of the high price of provisions, in our increased opulence and population, and an inadequate supply of corn; and to prevent the calamitous consequences to society, as well as the ruinous results on manufactures, commerce, navigation, &c. it is my humble opinion, that the remedy here pointed out will, if adopted, operate effectually to this purpose, and is perhaps the sole radical one left under all our existing circumstances.

During eight years past, the annual average produce of wheat has been about eight millions of quarters; the population of Great Britain, and its dependencies, which are supplied by it with corn, amounts to about twelve millions: the average consumption annually is a quarter for each person: consequently, there is a deficiency of four millions of quarters, or *one third.* Add to this, that twenty-six days consumption is requisite to feed the country. Therefore, we have a manifest deficit in the supply necessary, which

which is equal to *four months and twenty-six days* food, beside the contingent deficit arising from bad seasons. This is an awful consideration; and it becomes strikingly so when we reflect, that with all our bounties, indemnifications, &c. we have but three times imported twenty-three days consumption, during the century, previously to this year, and thirty-nine at the most. With this deficit, therefore, and a vain expectation of supply from abroad, the axe is already at the root of the manufactures if the ploughshare be not set to work on the waste lands.

It may seem a matter of surprize to some persons, that, having never imported from abroad a supply which would subsist two thirds of the inhabitants of this country, forty days, we have not felt the deficiency more grievously before. The answer is, that in times of pressure, one third of the inhabitants consume rye, barley, and oaten bread: and, in the next place, it should be considered that the growth of population is like that of compound interest. The increase is hardly noticed in the outset, but after

after some advance the magnitude of augmentation becomes immense. Such is our present case.

Two questions however may be fairly asked by some persons, with respect to this proposal: First, Is the quantity of our waste lands adequate to the supply of *corn* which is necessary? Next, Would the inclosures have the effect held out, with respect to the increase of the other articles of subsistence, and particularly the *size of cattle?* To both these, the answer is, a direct affirmative: and the proofs are clear and concise.

First, the total quantity of acres in Great Britain, according to parliamentary documents, is 73,285,628; of which there are only 51,178,627 cultivated: consequently, we have very nearly one-third now lying waste. And, thank God, it is not only an ample resource for our necessities, but a great store of future strength and opulence for this country. At the present period the deficiency is about one-third: and as an acre is sufficient to supply three persons, consequently only 1,333,000 acres are requisite: whereas we have above twenty millions

waste,

waſte. Next, as the average weight of cattle has increaſed ſince incloſures have taken place, which will be ſeen in the following returns of the Smithfield market, it is fair to conclude, that like cauſes will produce like effects:

	Beef.	Calf.	Sheep.	Lamb.
In 1710—	370 lb.	50 lb.	28 lb.	18 lb.
1796—	800	148	80	50

Add to this the increaſe before mentioned in the number of the cattle. During ſixty-two years, up to 1795, the *cattle* conſumed in the metropolis alone had augmented *annually* in 32,854 heads; and 203,290 ſheep.

Theſe ſhort ſtatements contain ſatisfactory anſwers to the doubts which might ariſe on the foregoing points. But other numerous and important benefits which muſt reſult from the incloſures, and various and extenſive evils which muſt ariſe from the neglect of this meaſure, have been already ſtated in the preceding pages.

At preſent my object is to ſhew to the nation not only that there has been, and there

is,

is, a *real* and *considerable deficiency* in the growth of corn necessary for our subsistence, but that there is an effectual remedy. From the former partly arose the high price of provisions; which, if not checked by the inclosure of the wastes, must prove ruinous to society and manufactures.

When we are assured that national prosperity is another cause of the high price of provisions, we must more cheerfully submit to the pressure of a moment. And when we are assured further, that the radical and permanent remedy against scarcity, which is here pointed out, will be adopted, and will operate effectually as an *increasing* resource against increased taxation, I doubt not that the nation at large, with all its energetic strength of character, will meet the measures of government with a manly and grateful co-operation.

TABLE

TABLE N.

IMPORTS into England of CORN, FLOUR, &c. from the 26th of September 1799 to the 27th September 1800; extracted from the Accounts printed by Order of the House of Commons, the 18th of November 1800.

			s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Barley	61,034	Quarters, at	53	11	Per Quarter	164,537	12	2
Beans	13,151	Do	66	11	Do	44,001	1	1
Oats	446,712	Do	38	6	Do	858,520	4	0
Oatmeal	1,107	Bolls	68	1	Per Boll	3,768	8	3
Peafe	16,565	Quarters	63	8	Per Quarter	47,743	18	8
Rye	148,429	Do	71	9	Do	532,482	19	10
Ryemeal						24,890	1	4
Wheat	1,032,121	Do	106	0	Do	5,466,241	6	0
Wheat Flour	320,130	Cwt. reckoning 3 Cwt. per Quarter, is				538,217	15	0
Rice	291,950	Do	15	0	Per Cwt.	218,962	10	0
Potatoes	6,885	Do	10	0	Do	3,442	10	0
Bacon	68,034	Do	45	0	Do	153,076	10	0
Beef	132,134	Barrels	37	4	Per Barrel	246,632	9	4
Butter	225,002	Cwt.	27	6	Per Cwt.	309,377	15	0
Pork	102,521	Do	37	4	Do	189,639	4	0
Tongues	2,040	Doz. at 2l. per Doz. and 736 Barrels, at 10s. per Barrel				472	0	0
		Total - - Imports, England				£. 8,793,978	2	2

SCOTLAND.

			s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Wheat	114,615	Quarters, at	83	4	Per Quarter	477,562	5	0
Wheat Flour	25,460	Cwt. at 3 Cwt. per Qr.				35,157	8	8
Barley	6,954	Quarters	45	8	Do	13,878	6	0
Oats	32,618	Do	38	5	Do	62,134	10	3
Oatmeal	117	Bolls	35	4	Per Boll	211	16	8
Peafe	3,008	Quarters	69	5	Per Quarter	13,040	5	4
Beans	660	Do	68	5	Do	2,237	15	0
Rye	980	Do	51	6	Do	2,543	10	0
Ryemeal	435	Cwt. at 3 Cwt. per Qr.				437	0	0
Rice	8,743	Do	7	6	Per Cwt.	3,743	0	0
Biscuit	17	Do	14	0	Do	11	8	0
Bacon	511	Do	46	8	Do	1,192	6	8
Beef	5,670	Barrel	60	0	Per Barrel	17,010	0	0
Do	235	Cwt.	45	0	Per Cwt.	648	3	0
		Carried forward				£. 632,925	17	4

IMPORTS into England of CORN, FLOUR, &c.—*continued.*

					£.	s.	d.
SCOTLAND.				Brought forward -	632,925	17	0
		s.	d.				
Butter - - - 5,028	Cwt. at - - -	50	0	Per Cwt. - - -	12,570	0	0
Cod - - - - 296	D° - - - - -	50	0	D° - - - - -	740	0	0
White Herings - 220	Barrels - - -	12	0	Per Barrel - -	132	0	0
Hams, Bacon Hams, Venison.							
Pork - - - 2,699	D° - - - -	60	0	Per Barrel - -	8,097	0	0
Tongues - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -					96	6	6
				Total - - Imports, Scotland - -	£. 654,561	3	6
				Brought forward - - Imports into England -	8,793,976	2	8
Total Amount of Provisions which might be supplied by our own industry, and waste lands, if cultivated; and which would produce other considerable advantages to the nation and individuals, in agriculture, trade, manufactures, and commerce -					9,448,537	6	2

N. B. The Prices of the aforesaid articles are mostly according to the Parliamentary document; but wherever the prices were not furnished by these accounts, they are taken at the official rate of the Custom House, and consequently UNDER THE REAL VALUE.

FINIS.

Luke Hansard, Printer, Great Turnstile, Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

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